The Boni Refugee Blacks of French Guiana
/Les Noirs Réfugiés Boni de la Guyane Française/

Jean Hurault

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INTRODUCTION

114 101 [122] In the course of three missions of the Institut Géographique National in 1948, 1949, and 1952, we lived in close relationship with the tribe of the Boni, who supplied us with the bearers and boat crews indispensable for travel in the country. From the first contacts, we felt a deep interest in this worthy people, made up in the 18th century of rebel slaves escaped from the plantations of Surinam.

114 [121] Taking advantage of the rare moments of respite allowed us by our work, we tried to study the various aspects of their material, social, and religious life. The men who accompanied us were for the most part young men wh[illegible]nly a limited understanding of the tradition of their group: in addition, the geographic work compelling constant moves in the uninhabited forest, investigator and informants were more often than not prey to worry and fatigue.

[101] [121] At the end of the mission to fix the French Guiana-Brazil boundary in January, 1957, we were able to undertake a systematic investigation based on a detailed inventory of the population of the villages.

114 101 [122] A fifth mission made under the aegis of the Institut Français d'Amérique Tropicale (IFAT) from October, 1957 to February, 1958 permitted us to fill part of the gaps in our work. Some complementary data were collected in October-November, 1958 on the occasion of another trip devoted mainly to the study of the Indians of the Upper Maroni.

128 The present work is exclusively devoted to the social life of the Boni. The information we assembled on their material life and their art, as well as their demographic situation, will be the subject of separate publications. /blank page/

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PHONETIC NOTATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS IN FRENCH OF NAMES OF PLACES AND PERSONS

197 The Boni language, made up from deformed English words, presents few phonetic difficulties.

104 Notations. We have made use of the simplified international alphabet of the International African Institute of London (Westerman and Ward).

Vowels:

a forward a (French a of "natte").
a: long a, pronounced very far back, analogous to the one in English "half."
ã nasalized a, French an of "banc."
e French é of "périr."
ɛ French è of "grève."
ẽ nasalized e (In the Boni language there does not seem to be any central oral vowel).
ɛ̃ nasalized è, French in of "pince."
i long i, as in "île."
ɔ open o, like the one of "port."
o closed o, as in "obus."
ɔ̃ nasalized o, on of the French "bon."
u French ou of "poule."
ũ nasalized ou.

Consonants:

b, d, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, t, z are used with their ordinary value in French.
h, w, with their ordinary value in English.

/3 cont./

104 ŋ velar nasal (final sound of "dancing"). /4/

ny palatal nasal; French gn of "montagnard."

r liquid heard sometimes as r, sometimes as l by Europeans; it appears to be borrowed from the Amerindian languages of Guiana.

s consonant placed between French s and ch. One hears initial s before a and o, ch in other cases, but this is a single phoneme.

Transcription. Names of places and persons have been transcribed according to the rules indicated by Mr. Houis, chief of the linguistic section of IFAN. In names of places and persons, u with the value of French ou has been kept on account of the frequent gemination of this vowel (1).

1. Exception is made for recognized toponyms (names of the principal water courses and administrative posts), for which we have kept the usual French spelling.

For the consonant s defined above, s or ch has been transcribed according to its position in the word.

/5/

CHAPTER I

MAN AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The Country

133
[131] The Boni live along the middle course of the Lawa, principal tributary of the Maroni, above Abounasounga Falls. This region presents the same characteristics as the rest of Guiana: it is a very worn-down peneplain which, seen from the air, gives the impression of an immense plateau from which emerge every now and then isolated mountain massifs. When one travels across this peneplain, one perceives that in its detailed aspects it is very hilly everywhere; the terrain looks like an infinite covering of whitecaps of little hills as anonymous as the waves of the sea, whose always steep slopes end in swamps or *pinotières* drained by an infinitely complex maze of "*criques*" [creeks] (1); the shapes and dimensions of these hills and valleys depend on the nature of the substratum, and their appearance on aerial photographs makes possible the drawing up of a concise geological map. The zones of "green rocks" are marked by much more important valleys and hills, reaching an altitude of 800 meters, with massive shapes and very steep slopes.

The other types of terrain most often lead to a very broken-up relief, the dimensions of the valleys and hills scarcely going over 300 meters, with local differences of altitude of from 50 to 100 meters.

1. In Guiana brooks and small rivers are called "*criques.*"

/5 cont. /

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling
most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable,
the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during
the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants
of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes
readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the
raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for
more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each
village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000
meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be
covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/6 cont./

133 Flooding is very variable according to the configuration of the rivers and the nature of the terrain.

133 At the Creole village of Grigel, situated at the bottom of
361 a glove-finger loop of the Waki River, the June flooding reaches
171 a level of eight meters above the average level in the dry season;
the Creole and Indian villages of the Waki are established on hills. On the contrary, along the Lawa whose course is rectilinear, the variation in level is seldom greater than four meters. The maximum water level is 50 centimeters to one meter /above/
[342] the soil of the alluvial terrace. Several of the Creole and Boni
[484] villages of the Lawa are even established at the very edge of the
great river; the houses are built on piles and their occupants go home by boat during several weeks of the year. Nevertheless, most of the villages and farming habitations are outside the reach of flooding on terraces situated about five meters above the high-water mark, which are found from place to place at the edge of the river and which perhaps mark vestiges of an ancient terrace. This is notably the case with Boniville and Loka villages.

137 The whole of the territory is entirely covered by equatorial forest: a forest continuous and dense which extends over hundreds of kilometers without a village, without a clearing, without a trail.

The Guiana forest is less high than is ordinarily thought. It is an infinite succession of trees of all dimensions and of extremely varied species, among which true giants are rare; the average height of the cover is around 30 meters, and large trunks are rare.

824 The variety of species is very great; and the useful ones, few in number and dispersed, are difficult to exploit. The Refugee Blacks, who have a deep knowledge of the forest and its resources, utilize scarcely ten species out of the some 200 which they differentiate, judging the others unusable either because their

/6 cont./
824 wood is too hard to be worked with ordinary instruments or, on the
contrary, because it is too soft, too easily attacked by insects, or
311 has a tendency to rot. The zone exploitable by native procedures
is limited (for the floodable zones /7/ do not allow fine woods)
to the slope of the hills bordering the valley of the watercourses
accessible to pirogues; beyond, the cartage of felled trunks becomes
impracticable.

137 A very dense epiphytic vegetation connects the trees with
136 their upper parts; it is there that life blossoms out: flowers, birds,
insects, and monkeys.

484 Progress through the forest is very arduous. The undergrowth,
480 shrubs, bushes, bound together by fine and elastic lianas, offers
[137] a constant obstacle, the machete /sabre/ must be wielded at each
[412] step. The nature of the terrain, a succession of bogs and hills
with steep and slippery slopes, makes walking for heavily loaded
[133] men exhausting. On the trail one succeeds with difficulty in
making more than 15 to 20 kilometers a day; in the uninhabited
forest one can scarcely advance five to six kilometers a day by
cutting the strict minimum as one does when hunting. The opening
of a route permitting the passage of heavily laden men cannot
progress more than three kilometers a day on the average.

137 The great forest offers few real dangers, but it is an environment
182 profoundly hostile to man, which does not present spontaneously
any food resource and allows establishment of villages and
cultivated areas only at the price of great efforts.

136 One meets few animals in the interior of the forest, and the
resources for hunting are very limited; on the other hand, there
are few harmful animals; wild beasts are few and practically do
not appear; snakes are much rarer than on the coast and represent
164 only a slight danger. The most real dangers of the forest come
from the fall of branches and epiphytes, principally when it is
cleared for cultivation; each year there are accidents of this kind
in Boni country. Besides, work in the forest is the occasion for
many wounds which tend to ulcerate.

/7 cont. /

132 The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European
[513] to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than
28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 2[illegible]° at the end of
the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and
Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly
all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about
50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into
two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy
season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in
133 May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course
182 of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior,
[361] spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the
[164] height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and
crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation
to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

241 Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter
[134] and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the
practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period
of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming
[136] to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground
to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant,
/8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones.
[134] Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean
du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not
[242] burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks
consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the
weight of cinders laid down during the burning.

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is
obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized
can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning
do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods
241 can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the
177 diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have
entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

/8 cont./

241 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable
177 ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large
measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac
[262] (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian
yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage").
[171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles
do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of
vegetables and fruits.

311 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated
361 lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds
182 only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by
their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses.
181 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they
182 find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving with-
171 out hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are
widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living
finds in this a deep originality.

131 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say
133 that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the
182 natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be
estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band
171 of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for
granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source
of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic
vegetation prevents easy movement.

[181] Actually, considering the very low density of the population,
[226] the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

497 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render
501 the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

B /8 cont./ The Pirogues of the Refugee
487 Blacks, carrying a useful load of from 1,000 to 2,000 kilograms,
501 are the normal means for provisioning the placers and European
505 settlements of the Interior. The use of outboard motors on these small boats tends to become more general, but navigation remains difficult and dangerous and the Refugee Blacks continue to draw the essential part of their resources from these trips. /Fig. 1 appears here./

/9/ Populations

B
F The Maroni Basin is relatively populated if it is compared
162 with the rest of Guiana. The population includes three human
648 groups which are very different from one another and have absolutely no tendency to merge although they maintain friendly relations.

F 1) Creoles. This is the name of the colored persons who
101 lead a life with individual characteristics and have adopted
177 European forms of life in part, by contrast to the Refugee Blacks who live in tribes under the command of chiefs. African blood
F
144 is dominant in the Creoles, especially among the gold miners.

In 1958 there were no more than about 800 Maroni Creoles,
F almost all gold miners or traders, grouped principally around the
131 little Surinam mining center of Benzdorp; very small villages of
361 gold miners are scattered along the principal tributaries of the
161 Maroni, notably the Abounami, the Great and the Little Inini,
463 the Waki.

F The Maroni Creoles are nearly all foreigners, the great ma-
167 jority originally from the British West Indies, more specifically from Santa Lucia and Barbados; there are very few among them
F from the French West Indies or the Guianas.

197 All speak dialects with a French base, very close to one another but rather different from the very special patois of the

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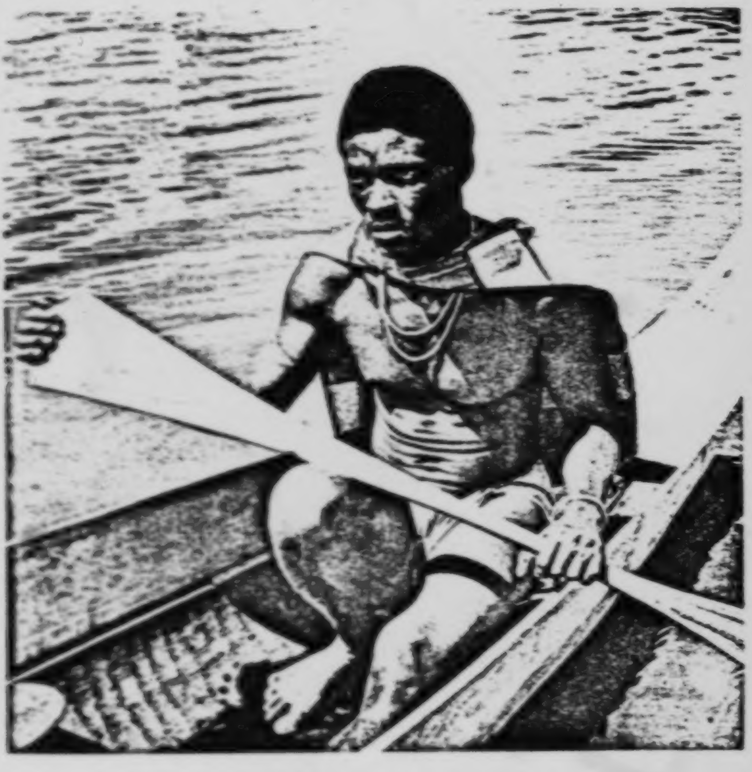

Fig. 1. Boni type.

F /9 cont./
197 Guiana coast which is rarely heard spoken in the interior. The
B [191] Creole patois of Santa Lucia is most widespread, and it is this
that the Refugee Blacks use to address Europeans.

F The Creole peopling of the Maroni Basin was formerly rela-
175 tively numerous and had been since an ancient era. In 1877
161 Crevaux already speaks of the existence in Boni country of a placer
[316] with a force of about a thousand workers. At the time of the
[314] Lawa (1887) and Inini (1902) gold rushes, as well as in the period
of the exploitation of balata (1920-25), several thousand people
lived on rivers now entirely deserted. A good many Creoles liv-
F ing nowadays by gold work have been settled there for 50 years
182 and more. Nevertheless, the Creole population of the interior
361 remains floating without real attachment to the country. This
rises from two essential causes:

F —The absence of regular family life, the majority of the
[236] Creole women in the gold miners' villages being in the category
of mistresses;

F —The impossibility of living on agriculture in the manner
[241] of the indigenous populations because this agriculture can be con-
ducted with a good yield only by a numerous family groups.
Now, few Creole women of the Maroni are willing to devote most
of their time to working the land.

F The economy of the Creoles of the interior is therefore based
433 almost exclusively on the search for products of very high price
439 (gold, and formerly rosewood, balata), allowing them to pay for
imported food. /10/

F Progressive exhaustion of the auriferous beds exploitable
316 without mechanical means is gradually leading the Maroni Creoles
167 to leave Guiana. This movement, begun about 20 years ago,
continued until 1956, no form of economic life having been able
F to replace gold mining. In 1957 a tendency toward stabilization
161 was observed, principally because of the recent development of
233 cattle and sheep raising.

F /10 cont./
233 Since about ten years ago Creole exploiters without any
433 outside aid have built up a herd of several hundred head, principal-
F ly with an eye to the provisioning of the mining center of Benzdorp.
[508] The existence of an airodrome and regular air connections permits
F envisaging the export of meat to the coast. The success of animal
233 raising in the Upper Maroni seems to be attributable to a rainfall
[132] lower in total amount than on the coastal strip but better distributed,
as well as to the nature of the soil. It is principally on the floodable
[311] alluvial strip bordering the river to a width of 500 to 600 meters
that cattle find the most favorable conditions, taking refuge on
the neighboring hills during the three weeks of annual inundation.

F Winning pastures from the forest and defending them against
[461] the encroachment of the bush represents continual work, but it
[464] can be carried out on the Maroni far better than on the coast, thanks
to the man power of the Refugee Blacks.

F One cannot yet come to a conclusion on the profitableness
[433] of this animal raising. Like many other enterprises in Guiana it
[435] is handicapped by its too high cost price which prevents effective
competition with imported products.

B 2) The populations of the Maroni, descending from rebel
101 slaves of the 18th century, who are often called Refugee Blacks,
are divided into three tribes: the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the
B Boni, whose customs are practically identical and whose dialects
197 are very close. These dialects are variations of Taki-taki,
vehicular language derived mainly from English, whose use was
widespread in the time of slavery and which has become the
national language of Surinam.

B The Paramaka, 700 to 800 in number, occupy the lower part
162 of the course of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina)
131 to the junction with Béiman Creek. They are not navigators but
B farmers and foresters, who furnish highly prized man power for
433 the enterprises of the Saint-Laurent region.
464

/10 cont./

162 The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the
131 Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the
Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential
361 villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston,
[103] Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages
founded more recently are established on the lower course of the
563 Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been disturbed
by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory
178 for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is
mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the
[181] other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still
make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory
361 on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in
total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming
[162] villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands,
[161] penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French
[648] Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings
[619] living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize
their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing
villages in it.

433 For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been
648 founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish
[464] specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in exchange
[465] for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself
[178] threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is
[166] developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the European
[182] work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka
of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the interior
cohesion of the tribes.

Emerillon SQ8
Rucuyen SR12
Carib SR9
Locono SR10

C E L R 101 /11 cont. /

3) The autochthonous Indians are represented on the Maroni Basin by three groups:

C E [131] [162] [433] [177] [178] —The Arawak and the Kaliña (Galibi) (about 500 persons) live downstream from Saint-Laurent; they live in symbiosis with the population of the city, whom they supply with fish and manioc. A century of contact with the Creole population has produced a certain alteration in their customs and traditional way of life, but the essentials of their tribal organization remain intact.

R [131] [162] [178] —The Oayana /Oyana/ or Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/ (about 250 persons) live on the Litani upstream from the Boni with whom they are in close relationship. They have not undergone any alteration in their race or their way of life.

E [131] —The Emerillon, who belong to the Tupi-Guarani group, form a small grouping on the way to extinction.

B 114 The Refugee Blacks. —Ethnic origin. No comprehensive anthropological study has as yet been undertaken on the Refugee Blacks. Not possessing the specialized knowledge necessary for tackling this study, we have left it entirely aside. Besides, we doubt that it would give important detailed information on the ethnic origin of the Refugee Blacks. B 175 144 [192] Study of archive documents concerning the slave trade would certainly give more particulars; it is certain from now onwards that their origin is very diverse; the slave traders took on provisions principally on the coast of West Africa, but also in the Congo and in present-day Angola; the African words figuring in the present dialects come from the populations of these B 141 various regions. So it is not surprising to meet rather variable skull forms and statures among the Refugee Blacks.

The Refugee Blacks are in general of medium stature, that of the adult men being between 1 meter 60 and 1 meter 75; the average is a little below 1 meter 70.

/11 cont./

142 Certain somatic characteristics are found frequently among
them. The /12/ majority of individuals are dolichocephalic,
144 slightly platyrrhine, have thick, flattened-out lips. These
characteristics bring more especially to mind the populations of the
Ivory Coast and Dahomey. The human types of the Congo and
Equatorial Africa in general are rarely seen among the Refugee
Blacks. This is a surprising finding, given the diversity of origin
175 of the slaves imported into Surinam. The fact can be attributed
to the very special conditions under which the tribes of Refugee
Blacks were formed: much more than from massive revolts, they
were born of kinds of "maquis," enlarged from age to age, of all
those who escaped at the peril of their lives. One can think that
the majority of these indomitable people must have come from
the large tribes of the African west, more combative and more
thoroughly organized. The archives of the colony of Surinam,
like those of French Guiana, pointed out especially that the
"Coromantin" Negroes (that is, it seems, the ones who came from
the Ashanti country) were so intractable that they could hardly be
utilized and that they were found at the origin of most of the
revolts.

144 Even if the Refugee Blacks do not represent one race in the
rigorous sense of the term, they give, compared with the Blacks
of America in general, a striking sensation of homogeneity and
175 unity. Actually, it is important to remark that they have
144 practically only African blood; mulattoes were rare in Surinam plantations
in the 18th century, for the documents of the time attest that most
of these, more sensitive to malaria than the Blacks, were
employed as workmen in Paramaribo. They must have had few
chances to run away, and few of them would have been able to stand
for very long the rebels' exceptionally harsh conditions of living.
144 The Refugee Blacks, thought of as representatives of the main
African Negro race, can thus be considered a homogeneous

B 144 /12 cont./
population. This point of view is confirmed by the study of their demography which shows characteristics well marked and very different from those of the other ethnic groups, a fact illuminated by the study of pathology.

F 114 164 182 [13] Man and the natural environment. Doctor André Sausse, studying the three populations of the Maroni (1), Refugee Blacks, Indians, and Creoles, placed for centuries in the same geographical environment and leading very close kinds of lives, has shown that they present an entirely distinct pathology and a completely different behavior with respect to the geographic environment.

F 164 182 F 16 [177] The autochthonous Indians have an extreme sensitivity to malaria, equal to that of Europeans; and one can believe that before the implantation of the new black and white populations they were living in a precarious equilibrium with the natural environment that the contact with Europeans broke. Extremely susceptible to lung diseases, they were decimated for centuries by epidemics of pneumonia due to microbial germs brought in with the Europeans and Blacks, without any adaptation appearing. In three centuries their number was reduced from several tens of thousands to a few hundred, without it being possible to blame any cause other than malaria and epidemics. The only ones to survive without outside help have been the groupings living in the marshy /13/ zones near the sea; for reasons not yet elucidated but which are probably related to the conditions of life of the anopheles, these zones are actually less dangerous on the whole from the point of view of malaria than the highlands (similar observations have been made in Indochina).

1. Doctor André Sausse: Populations primitives du Maroni /Primitive Populations of the Maroni/; Paris, Larose, 1951.

/13 cont. /

165 The tribes of the interior, on the way to rapid extinction,
161 have for several years been the object of medical assistance which
744 has greatly improved their sanitary state and living conditions in
general (1). But it is important to observe that without this outside aid they would continue to die out, no biological adaptation appearing.

144 The Creoles, products of cross-breeding between Europeans
182 and Blacks, have biological characteristics and a degree of adaptation to the environment intermediate between those of these two
164 groups. On the whole their resistance to malaria appears to be
162 appreciably less than that of the pure Blacks; the Creoles of the Upper Maroni in particular are severely stricken, and before the
744 anti-mosquito campaigns undertaken for the last few years by the Institut Pasteur of Guiana, the gold miners and their families were constantly undermined by fever; moreover, within the Creole group extremely variable degrees of resistance are observed; on the gold-working sites of the interior practically only Creoles in

1. Results unfortunately made questionable again by the bringing in of microbial germs by tourists, more and more numerous each year. In 1959-61, the Indians of the interior, who had been believed saved, presented anew a disastrous demographic balance sheet. One can ask if, in spite of the measures taken, the extinction of these populations can be avoided.

6:Hurault--18 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
French Guiana SR3

F /13 cont. /
164 whom African blood predominates are seen; the mulattoes are in
162 general traders, or practice small stock raising.
944 The Refugee Blacks are the only population of interior
B Guiana who can be regarded as perfectly adapted to the environ-
182 ment and capable of subsisting there by their own means. They
B have a protection against malaria which operates thus: If the
164 children suffer from this endemic disease, resistance appears with
age, protecting adults from its attacks.

They are subject to serious skin diseases, notably to pian,
B but these maladies have few demographic consequences; only the
[161] Boni are seriously attacked by venereal diseases. The Djuka are
in the process of very great demographic expansion.

B The strong tribal organization of these populations and their
182 solid implantation on the ground render effective their methods
433 of working, farming, hunting, and fishing, which assure them
511 not only excellent provisionment but considerable means of exchange and a material standard of living superior to that of most of the populations of Africa. The techniques of the Refugee Blacks, especially as regards the squaring of wood, sawing, and building, procure for them resources comparable to those which the populations of the Ivory Coast get from coffee and cacao. /blank page/

/15/

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE BONI

Villages

131 [361] [133] Localization. The principal Boni villages have for 150 years been grouped on the Lawa (1) upstream from Abattis-Cottica Falls.

> 1. Let us remember that the Lawa and the Tapanahoni are the streams forming the Maroni. The Lawa constitutes the border between Surinam and French Guiana.

The limit of Boni country toward the south is vague. However, it is taken for granted that all the Abattis-Cottica belong [361] to the Boni. Boni farming villages and Djuka villages coexist downstream from the Abattis-Cottica as far as Abounasounga. Below Abounasounga begins Djuka country properly speaking (2).

> 2. In reality this is a zone of colonization, for the "great country" of the Djuka is the Tapanahoni. But the customary rights they possess on the Lawa lands are contested by no one.

423 643 [131] Traditionally, the Boni used to consider the whole of the upper basin of the Maroni as their domain or at the very least as territory under the authority of the grand man. Thus it was at

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion
of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the
first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can
settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among
lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe
by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is
not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears
here/ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no
definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the
group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

[486] a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[166] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings
there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.

[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the
Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in
the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this
occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the
Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
222 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
[619]

162 The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
all told.

6:Hurault--[illegible]21 K-5 (1948-1958)1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
French Guiana SR3

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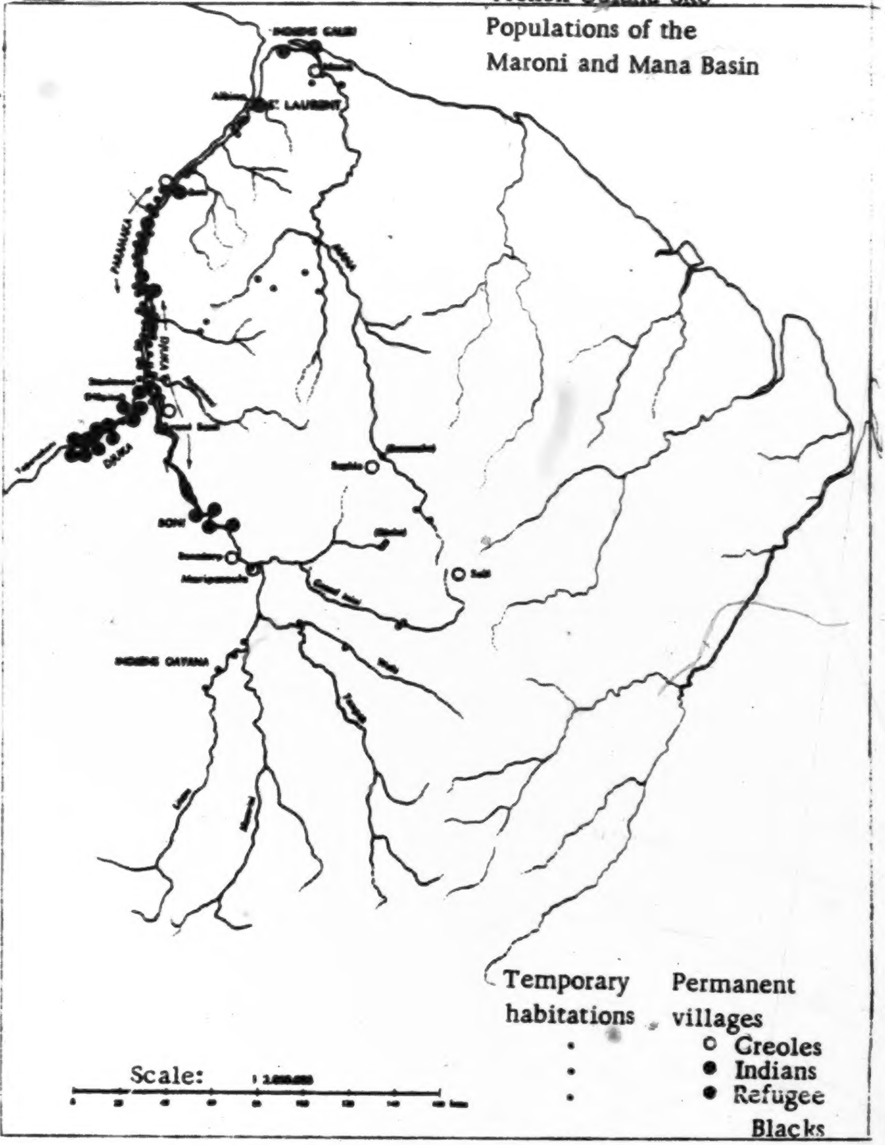
Populations of the Maroni and Mana Basin

INDIENS GALIBI
Albina
ST LAURENT
PARAMAKA
DJUKA
DJUKA
BONI
Maripasoula
INDIENS OAYANA
Temporary habitations
•
•
•
Permanent villages
○ Creoles
● Indians
● Refugee Blacks
Scale:

Fig. 2.

/17 cont. /

162 —On the Lawa a group of a little less than 680 persons is
103 settled on the French bank (villages of Agodé (Boniville), Asisi,
361 Loka, Tabiki (l'Enfant Perdu), Lapé (La Paix), and Papaïston).

—In proximity to this grouping subsists under Dutch control the village of Kotika (Cottica), grouping about 150 persons.

—In the region of Abounasounga two small groupings live in symbiosis with the Djuka. Finally, in the lower course of the Maroni exist three villages: Apatu, Ma Imma, and Wétiti. The whole represents about 150 persons.

361 These villages are stable: Kotika, Lapé, Asisi, Kormotibo
182 were already in existence at the beginning of the 19th century
[175] and their names figure in the report of the Franco-Dutch border
mission of 1861; by contrast, farming habitations are moved according to the necessities of agriculture and fishing; thanks to this organization, a relatively numerous grouping can, in the interior of Guiana, in spite of conditions imposed by the geographical environment, conserve complete stability and a firm attachment
[171] to the ground. It is useful to compare this organization with the
basic instability of the Indians of Guiana, for it shows very well that this instability is ascribable to psychological and sociological factors and not at all to the geographic environment.

101 The Boni designate themselves by the term Aluku nɛ̃nge. The meaning of this word is forgotten. It is possible that Aluku was the name of an ancient chief, or of the founding ancestress
[613] of a lineage. On this subject it is to be noted that the name of
the most ancient ancestress known of the Dju lineage, who can be thought of as living at the end of the 18th century, was called
[175] Aluku. This name has been used since the origin of the tribe;
[103] indeed one reads in the interrogation of the woman prisoner conducted in 1847 by the French at Oyapok that her village was called Loukou (1).

/17 cont./

101 1. Archives du Ministère de la France
103 d'Outre-Mer, Guyane /Archives of the
175 Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/,
113 A3-02.

611 /18/

Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

571 613 643 Their social system is symbiosis, under the authority of the grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bɛɛ, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

[614] bɛɛ: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïston).

/18 cont./

613 [621] [178] Six lineages (1) of ancient founding are counted among the Boni; all, with one single exception, have remained effective groupings corresponding each one to a village; for these lineages the words bɛɛ and lo may be used indiscriminately. The seventh, *Dipélu*, is distributed in three villages under different authorities, that is, forms three lo.

[614] The lo possesses a head (hedeman or captain). The bɛɛ possesses neither head nor organization, but as we shall show, its members are united by religious ties and meet to celebrate common rites.

(See table on the following page.)

[643] The head of the Dikan lo is supreme chief -- grand man -- of the Boni.

1. It seems that in the past there was a greater number of groups (they continue to use the expression twalɛfuyu lo, the 12 lo, to designate the Boni nation), but some have died out.

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[643]

lo	Village of residence	Head in 1958
Dikan	Boniville village	Difu (grand man)
Dju	Asisi village; a small group in Boniville	Adiiso
Lapé	Loka and Lapé Tabiki villages; a small group in Boniville	Popo
Dipélu I	l'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages; a small group in Boniville	Babun (l'Enfant Perdu) Saka (Apatu)
Dipélu II	Kormotibo village; a fraction in Asisi	Poopu
Kotika (Yakubi)	Kotika village; a group in Abunasunga	Nachinengé
Papaïston (Kawina)	Papaïston village; a small group in Boniville a small group in the Lower Maroni (Wétiti village)	Tafanié

/19 cont./

613 621 571 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Toïna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papaïston lo;

[578] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papaïston lo founded Wétiti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awara Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] [769] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kãpu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [769] [778] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village": it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

/20 cont./

613 571 Thus the *lo* appears to us above all as a social and political unit, based in principle on matrilineal relationship but easily able to welcome heterogeneous elements. It is the framework by means of which the individual is integrated into the collectivity.

614 Functions of the lineage (*bɛɛ*).

—Members of the same *bɛɛ* form a joint group from the legal point of view, even if they do not live in the same village and are under different authorities. They recognize a common legal responsibility; for example, they are obliged, at least in principle, to pay the debts contracted by one of them. Reciprocally, the inheritance of one of them is shared among them all.

614 784 —They have the same religious responsibility, that is, they are subject to the same *kunu*. The *kunu* is a curse called down upon a group by a divinity since an ancient era. It is transmitted exclusively by the mother. We shall show in the remainder of this work the considerable importance of this notion in the social life of the Refugee Blacks.

614 —They cannot (at least in principle) contract a union with one another. The *bɛɛ* thus constitutes in principle the unit subject to the law of exogamy.

[835] An offense against exogamy, *pikadu*, incest in the wide sense, is regarded as very grave.

613 Functions of the *lo*: The *lo* transposes onto the material plane the legal principles resulting from the conception of the lineage: joint rights over land, common legal responsibility. Each of them forms a social unit in principle sufficient unto itself, possessing an ancestor worship peculiar to it, a head acting the role of ancestor priest and judge, materially grouped in one village, enjoying exclusive rights over a well-defined soil.

/20 cont./

613 571 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 613 614 Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:

[115] [829] The Boni have the idea that their kin groups are lineages in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 613 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

/21 cont./

601 613 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit without any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, *baala*, or sister, *sisa*, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, *tiyu*, or aunts, *tiya*.

601 602 613 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know [814] that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 613 614 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3[2] (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baīna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word *bεε* (1).

[2] [See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

/21 cont./

602 613 614 171 1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

601 612 613 614 284 571 /22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, conflicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical transmission from one generation to the next of appellations based on rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

602 613 614 Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[178] In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu: upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

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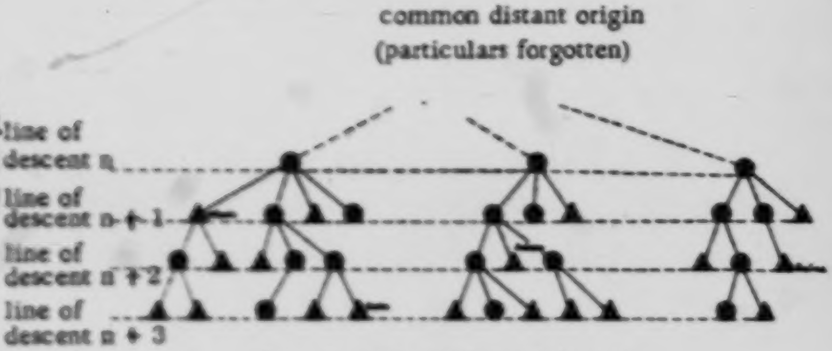
common distant origin
(particulars forgotten)
line of descent n
line of descent n + 1
line of descent n + 2
line of descent n + 3

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

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1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka; the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

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For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaiston lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/23 cont./

621 Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about
175 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement
[166] of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying
on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold
[103] miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village
613 of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.
[103]
[423] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between
[241] Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for
[103] more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis
Kotika.

613 Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded
621 by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about
175 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly
[648] all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned.
[648] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the
authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be
[628] faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with
the other groups.

613 The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interro-
614 gation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct
[124] fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing re-
spectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

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1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

/23 cont./

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kuna. [601] [784]

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but there are seven cases of unions between members of different fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated. 613 614 582 123

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 128 [115] [601] In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4)[a] thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 [602] Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[a] [See p. 34, Category 86 -- Analyst]

/24 cont./

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614

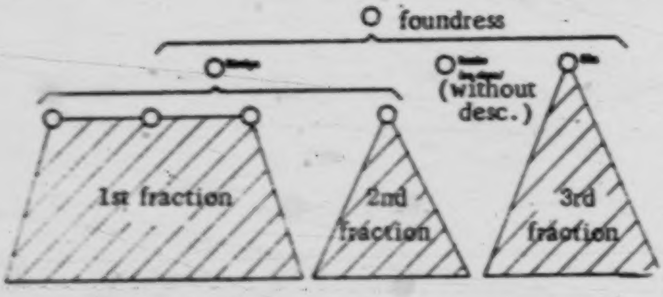

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[621] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage. [78] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo.

613 [361] The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the Asisi Island, also fits the definition of kin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

/25 cont./

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613
614
621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo
Dipélu II. 2nd fraction		some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common [601] origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence
with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up.
The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[598] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving
in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
571 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
177 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick
out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with
the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

614
613 /26 cont./

[621] This village had no future. its complement did nothing but
[591] melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of
[177] venereal diseases.

[164] Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as
[784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

613 The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously with-
614 in Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted be-
582 tween Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned
[784] continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613 The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know
[621] their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost
[614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct
[784] bɛɛ. They do not have the same kunu.

[582] Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

613 Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which
621 fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally
[167] of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with
[101] the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/26 cont./

613 621 of the Papaïston lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family," Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

613 614 [621] The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more complex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./. The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba († 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the 18th century.

613 614 571 [621] Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta, a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

[601] [984] The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The daughters of Anéta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight; but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

613 614 784 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage, they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with
the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the
difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time
and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[784] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This
group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the
614 point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages between
582 one fraction and another, but there are two within the same
[183] fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group,
without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the
same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the
Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi
which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages
are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of
each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social
life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken
them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her
descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back
there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights
again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the
621 AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect
571 to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family
group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose
members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

613 621 571 where they have chosen to live. It is possible that later, if their number continues to increase, they may found a separate village whose head will be recognized as captain. A new lo would thus be created.

613 614 571 Real nature of Boni matrilineal groups. Examination of the situation of the various lineages leads to the following conclusions:

— The fact that genealogies are forgotten does not lead to any fractioning of lineages on the material or religious planes.

— The conceptions of the Boni relative to classificatory kinship, as well as their custom hostile toward any discrimination within the lineage, hinder fractioning. When a separation takes place on the plane of residence and authority, it has no repercussion on the common worship which cements the lineage together;

— The fashion in which the law of exogamy is applied does not constitute a valid criterion, the attitude of the various groups in this regard being quite variable;

— No process of assimilation permits integration into the lineage of elements of foreign origin; a process of assimilation of paternally related fragments exists. But this assimilation is not complete, it does not operate on the plane of legal and religious responsibility;

613 614 784 — Ultimately, the surest criterion of true common matrilineal origin is unity of legal and religious responsibility, marked by the same kunu. The kunu, transmitted irrevocably by the mother whatever may be the conditions of her marriage, weighing collectively on all the members of a lineage and capable of being warded off only by their collective prayers, is the true cement of kin groups.

[571] By its very nature, the kunu opposes any scission of groups. Neither time nor geographical separation can break it.

[621] The example of Dipélu I and II is characteristic in this regard, for its members remain rigorously subject to the same kunu

/28 cont./

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[621]
although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they have been divided among four villages situated at a week's distance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

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[367]
[484]
On this subject let us note that geographical separation cannot play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

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/29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the principal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress. [784]

121
Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible
of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni,
have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but
give them a completely different meaning.

174 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of
composite origin were designated by the word lo which means:
troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at
regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven
by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of
heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most
capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers
of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a
de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated
by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for
example Dju nẽnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔ̃pani nẽnge
for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East
India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
571 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
[161]

/*30 cont.*/

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the
grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The *lo* no longer represented an effective social unit, but
its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[788] the *Dju nẽnge* go each year as a ritual to get earth from the
Savanc des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were
slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the
only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and
land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers
had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery
created a among the rebel slaves a *de facto* bond which was able
to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and
a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the
proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other
organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic
studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

174 /30 cont./
613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;
571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

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[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining
more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks,
it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between
[184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of
basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee
Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a
[171] current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to
men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee
Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound
[782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey
to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in
his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored
[827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted,
as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength
binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the
father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father.
[755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead
[782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to
him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in
the maternal line.

614 /31 cont./

769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective; the principal ceremonies,
such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in
613 principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
591 with the necessities of practical living in the following manner:
[171] the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but
when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus
one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system
of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve
the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that
this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities.
But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds
perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle
of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of
generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women
611 descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation.
The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

601 613 /31 cont./

Baala, (brother) Sisa, (sister)	brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense. Persons separated from the foundress by the same number of generations.
Tiyu, tiya, (uncle, aunt)	persons nearer to the foundress by one generation.
Gaãta, gaãma (grandfather, grandmother)	persons nearer to the foundress by two generations.
Avo (great-grandmother)	women nearer to the foundress by three generations.
Sisa pikin (nephews)	persons farther from the foundress by one generation.

/32/ In a general fashion, a man situated on line n calls uncles and aunts all those situated on line n-1, and nephews all who are on line n+1.

601 602 613 Example (see genealogical table of the Dju lo): Fintiman (F7) considers Aliki (E23) (his relative in the 9th degree) as his aunt, for the same reason as Wima (E3), sister of his mother. Likewise, he considers Sosoman (E14), as well as Atikati (E18), as his uncle, although Sosoman is 10 years younger than he. He assumes that Sosoman can to a certain extent give him advice and that his opinion is preponderant over his own.

He considers Adiiso (F37), his relative in the 10th degree, as his brother for the same reason as Klémenti, his brother proper. Paana (G2), Kéwenu (G10) as well as Soalufu (G42) are his nephews and nieces, sisa pikin.

At one generation more, he says "my grandchildren."

/32 cont./

601 The very rigor of this principle seems to have to lead to a
scission of the lineages, for one can hardly conceive that people
613 will be willing to address girls younger than themselves as "my
571 grandmother" and show them respect; now that must necessarily
[163] be the case at the end of a certain number of generations, for
as we shall see, the fecundity of Boni women sometimes lasts up
to the age of 50, and there are cases where the interval between
the oldest and youngest child reaches 35 years.

Nevertheless, we have not actually observed that this conception of kinship leads to scissions or even to serious clashes.

That derives from the very nature of the hierarchy and the social ties within the matrilineage; they entail a collective tutelage by one generation over the next, and in the same way a collective tutelage by the ancestors over the living. But for the same reason that every prayer, every invocation addressed individually to such-and-such an ancestor is avoided, the hierarchy of the Refugee Blacks does not give rise to relationships of authority between one man and another, which would not be tolerated. Only the hedemã, or captain, designated by the assembly of the lineage, exerts a personal authority; even so, he is careful to limit it almost exclusively to religious functions.

604 "Uncles" exert collectively an authority over the generation
of "nephews." They meet in council, especially on the question
613 of marriages. They do not vote, strictly speaking, but the opposition of three or four of them prevents the carrying out of a project. There is no preponderant voice for the closest uncles (yet in practice this seems to be taken into account). But the eldest of the uncles in the classificatory sense is unanimously recognized as preponderant.

602 Existence of patrilineages. Matrilineages are not the only kin
784 groups of the Refugee Blacks. Each one receives from his father
428 a fundamental interdiction -- bwasi kina -- which he will have

/32 cont./
602 to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his
784 children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction
428 causes leprosy (bwasi).

[753] This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

602 The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de
784 facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These
patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes
[582] from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a
woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikadu, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages,
[262] which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the
[578] Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of
their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their paternal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

602 The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all
784 about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tortoise,
262 the white hen, the pian (awali), the eel. The cayman is often
given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[189] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[589] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples; because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 *Appellations.* We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression	*ba* So-and-so... (man) *sa* So-and-so (woman)
— — of one generation above, the expression	*tiyu*, uncle *tiya*, aunt
— — of two generations above, the expression	*papa* *mama*.

[192] /*34*/ *Papa* does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, *mama* means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, *ba* So-and-so, *ɔdio*, or *tiyu*, *ɔdio*.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say *mati* (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

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601 In speaking to one's mother, one uses a special expression, often formed of ma followed by the last syllable of her name.

For example, Asakundu (Lapé lo) is called Ma Ndu or Mama Ndu by her sons. Béniti (Dju lo, †1955) was called Ma Béniti or Anti by her children.

601 602 The appellations relating to patrilineage are exactly the same except for mi ta, my father. But as these patrilineages have no practical social function, being limited to the transmission of an interdiction, the kinship ties are not known beyond the second generation and people bother very little with them.

601 When one addresses someone of a different lineage one uses, in deference, the same terms whether the person being addressed appears to be the same age or older. This is particularly clear for old people who are uniformly called papa and mama. For people of about one's own age, if one knows them well one says ba So-and-so /male/ or sa So-and-so /female/. For men one does not know well one often uses masa So-and-so (masa = Mr.). 551 648 The Boni are quite punctilious in this respect. It is very disagreeable to them to be called directly by their name; their European employers have the custom of speaking to them thus; they accept it on their part but not without reticence.

601 Special appellations result from marriage; the terms used are reciprocal:

Pay	designates the relationship between father-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law.
May	— the relationship between mother-in-law, son-in-law.
Soagi	— the relationship between brothers-in-law.
X linga mi pay	means "X is my father-in-law" as well as "X is my son-in-law."

As a general rule a man calls soagi all those whom his wife calls brothers in the classificatory sense, and pay all whom she calls uncles. But the term may is used only with respect to the wife's own mother.

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms *soagi*, *pay*, *may* even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say *sa* So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 *Marriage*. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

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Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

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The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

/35 cont./ V

593 This organization, compared with what is found in the
greater part of Africa, is very advantageous for the wife, who
[581] enjoys total independence. But against this she has great instability
of unions.

581 601 The union of man and woman has so little of the character of a marriage that in the Boni language no word exists which means, strictly speaking, "husband" or "wife." They say: mi libi anga X = "I live with So-and-so.

174 591 How has the social and matrimonial system of the Refugee Blacks been set up? One could believe that one of the systems of Western Africa was purely and simply transposed, but this is not the case at all. In this domain as in that of beliefs, the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks elaborated an original synthesis out of numerous sources.

The African nations from which the rebels issued were certainly, in large part if not in the majority, patrilineal. This is especially the case of the Fon of Dahomey, from whom have been borrowed important cultural elements, especially the principal cults of possession. The matrilineal ones all conceded patrilocal residence, that is, the wife's leaving her village and settling in her husband's village.

[195] The 18th-century rebels, the archives attest, included a
heavy percentage of "salt-water Negroes," born on African soil;
such, for example, was Codio Coromantin, one of Boni's lieutenants;
those who had not been born in Africa had, for the most part,
been instructed in an African tradition by a father or uncle. One
can be sure that once having attained freedom they sought to organize
their villages according to the family custom by which
they had been brought up, that is, to set up, some a patrilineal
and patrilocal society, others a matrilineal society /36/ but with
[643] patrilocal residence. We know for example that Boni had chosen
his son Agosu as his successor.

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Family custom is a thing tenacious in other ways than a language, a technique, indeed a cult. Men cling desperately to the social and matrimonial system they have received, with the feeling that if they abandoned it their familiar universe would crumble. Do we not see nowadays in the big African cities groups completely separated geographically from their tribe of origin, subject sometimes for several generations to European influence, maintain fiercely their matrimonial system? Yet in all the tribes of Refugee Blacks patrilineal filiation prevailed nowhere at all, and patrilocal residence disappeared, it seems, rather rapidly; the problem cannot be dodged by facile explanations such as the influence of slavery or the rarity of women among the rebels (1).

[583]

1. The rebel groups were quickly balanced from a demographic point of view, for they went and carried off women from the plantations.

One must assume that fundamental reasons made the patrilineal groups less viable than the others and finally led to their dissolution. These reasons appear to be of two orders;

—The independent spirit of the African woman, concerned above all with her freedom with respect to the man;

—The moral and religious law under which the unification of the tribes of Refugee Blacks was brought about, implying rejection of any form of violence or oppression. Under this law it could no longer be a question of taking the wife away from her maternal village if she was attached to it, no more than of coercing her to make her live in a union which had ceased to please her.

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174 The formation of patrilineages must have been hampered
671 by numerous divorces; in addition, in case of divorce, the wife
unquestionably aspired to take her children with her, not recognizing any contract between the two groups of kin which might be able to affect her free will; one can also be certain that the children, if consulted, must have followed their mother in most cases and
[586] joined their maternal kin group. This tendency remains perfectly
observable in our day; we shall see all its importance when we study how the children are raised and what tutelage is exercised upon them.

Now there is no patrilineage conceivable if, in case of divorce, the children do not stay with the father. Patrilineal societies exist in which the wife is free, were it only the Peule society, where divorces are very frequent. But African custom has it that in a patrilineal system, by reason of payment of the dowry, the wife's kin lose all rights over the children. They have entered the man's kin group and his ancestral cult.

The formation of matrilineal and patrilocal groupings must also have collided with analogous difficulties, the women not willingly leaving their village of origin.

One can rather easily imagine that in the initial period of the formation of the /37/ new tribes, the different matrimonial systems coexisted; then the patrilocal groups, less viable, progressively broke up, while the present custom was being established.

175 This point of view is confirmed by an exact piece of infor-
643 mation collected at the end of the 19th century by the explorer Coudreau. Upon the death of Agosu, son of Boni, it was his son Gongo who succeeded him. But after the death of Gongo, the succession went according to the matrilineal system.

583 Another important aspect of the matrimonial system of the
Refugee Blacks is the absence of any compensation or payment.
[591] Even if it happens that a woman leaves her lineage permanently
in order to settle in her husband's village and found a family there

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583 (this was especially the case with the Afi and Toina lineages
591 cited above), that does not entail any compensation. It is contrary to custom and disapproved of, but if the wife absolutely insists on leaving her kin she is free to do it. Nothing can be claimed from her husband's lineage.

The usual interpretation of matrimonial compensation, regarded as a mechanism for exchange of women among groups, thus does not seem valid here. If a woman leaves a Boni lineage for good to go and found a family, for example among the Djuka, her descendants are lost to the lineage without any possibility of compensation. Yet this society so deeply rooted in African soil does not make provision for any allowance or payment in such a case.

613 Things are clearer if the lineage is considered not as an
771 effective material grouping but as a spiritual community subject
[829] to the same religious law. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks,
the fundamental religious tie which joins the individual to his
ancestors in uterine line cannot be broken whatever anyone does.

[591] Wherever she may go, the emigrant woman remains a member of the spiritual community; she remains, she and her children,
[784] subject to the same kunu. Nor can this religious tie be transferred
from the maternal kin group.

581 Understood thus, marriage breaks no spiritual tie, creates
583 none; it thus affords no reason for any compensation.

These considerations show that the African "dowry" as con-
000 ceived by patrilineal societies is not only a mechanism for the exchange of women among materially constituted groups. It can also have as its end, without those concerned even being aware of it, to compensate the spiritual community of the lineage for the loss of the children the woman will bear, their passage to another cult.

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414 An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipelu II
571 between Kormotibo and Asisi. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)
578 This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bongo (E6) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agosa, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asisi.

○ Pilë † (F35) and ○ Sésey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asisi.

621 This explains the present scission of this group and the bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asisi.
784 This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the pitiless tie of the kunu. Nowadays, Captain Poopu's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asisi. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

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CHAPTER III

125

INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Maroni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living and dead.
126 This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

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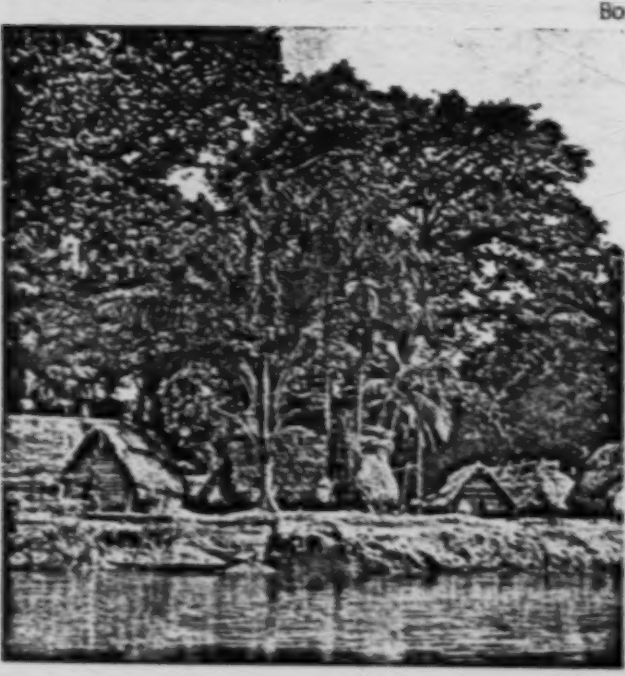

Fig. 5. Boni Village

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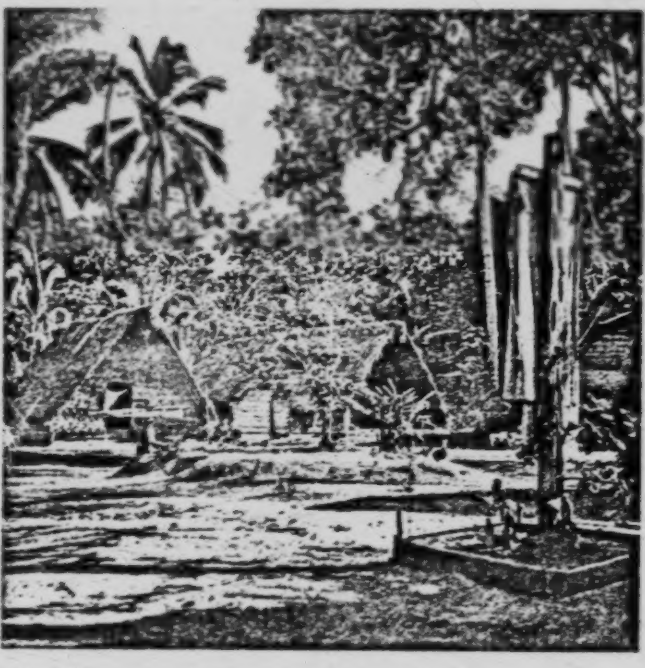

Fig. 6. The *fraga*
tiki of the Kotika
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121 It seemed to us that in the present state of knowledge about the Refugee Blacks a study of limited scope but covering the totality of the population was preferable to the very intensive study of a small group; only the study of the population considered in its entirety brings out clearly its family custom, its tendencies in the matter of marriage, divorce, inheritance; it alone can lead to a precise knowledge of its demographic data so important even on the social plane.

Finally, this detailed inventory constitutes a firm base for following the evolution of the population in the future.

125 Taking a census of the Boni posed a problem much more
difficult than for most populations without vital statistics. The
648 tribes of the Refugee Blacks enjoy in effect a statute of autonomous
nations under protectorate and insist fiercely on this autonomy.
The French administration has never been able to take a census
of them any more than the administration of Surinam has for the
Djuka and Saramaka, colliding with an ingenious ill will which
defies all efforts.

It is not that they fear taxes (this is a notion practically unknown in Guiana, even on the coast (1), and the French

1. Practically, in the interior of the country, with the exception of traders who are subject to a license, nobody pays taxes and there are not even any lists of taxable people. The Creoles of the interior (principally from the British West Indies) are known only because of the fact that, as foreign subjects, they must make declarations of change of residence; French citizens are scarcely known at the administrative

/39 cont. /

648 posts except as they present themselves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /40/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a benevolent office); but they obey the old African maxim of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125 In the absence of any nominal census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population:

[484] —Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the fine season (hunting, fishing, boating, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

[551] —A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

[115] —If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any reasoning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

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342 —A number of adolescents and even of men between 20 and 35 years old have no regular hut. Each Boni, man or woman, is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the pent roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

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125 In spite of the relations of trust developed between the Boni
[123] and ourselves in the course of the work carried out together during four long missions, we were able to take this census only progressively and indirectly, by using simultaneously the following procedures:

—Study of the genealogy of the groups, going up from woman to woman up to the founding ancestress, then going back down from her. These genealogical tables, some of which extend
[166] over nine generations and include more than 160 persons, brought
[736] to light a certain number of temporarily absent people and individuals who lived away from the villages, isolated in the middle of the Creole gold miners, but continuing to make up part of their group; they also brought to light a certain number of young people and orphan children taken in by distant relatives who would not have spoken about them directly. But on this point, gaps remain;

[126] —Detailed plan of the villages and interrogation of the village heads as to the persons living in each house;

—Interrogation of the women about their dead and surviving children;

—General verification with the help of perfectly trustworthy informants who possessed a thorough knowledge of the genealogy of the groups.

[162] The census, stopped on January 1, 1958, covered 811 persons of whom 667 /41/ were from the villages of the French bank and 144 from the Surinam bank (Kotika). As for the latter, we
[765] questioned them individually when they came to the French bank, especially when they came to attend the end of mourning festivities in Boniville in October, 1957. The Kotika census is less
[128] exact than that of the French villages, and in addition we were
[126] not able to make a plan of the village. For this reason we have not reproduced it in the present work, where only the corresponding genealogical table appears.

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621 The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages
613 is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men
[591] and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife
does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit
her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the
midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons)
have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the
population of the villages;

[619] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married
[591] to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have
been included in the census.

125 We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible
128 the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known
[173] date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux
(1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology,
reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of
another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological
investigation.

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[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. [2]

[2] [See 5: Hurault, This file--Analyst.]

/41 cont./

125 We estimate the gaps in the census at less than 3 per cent.
[128] These gaps involve essentially the adolescents and young people orphaned or raised by others than their parents.

The adults over 35 years old were practically all known
[648] individually to us. Children under 10 years could be counted very exactly thanks to the distribution of milk carried out since 1956 by the Maripasoula medical center.

125 128 162 Classification. The classification of the population was made by village of residence.

For each woman we have indicated her successive unions and the children who issued from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ‡ divorce, the sign ‡† means that the husband is deceased but after the break-up of the union.

The listings for women preceded by an asterisk * indicate that they can be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete with regard to successive marriages and divorces (2).

2. We avoided asking directly these questions to which the women replied unwillingly. The information was obtained indirectly by questioning brothers and husbands. It could be obtained complete for only about 30 per cent of the women.

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125 The name of each individual is printed in boldface type
128 once where he can be considered as habitually residing.
162 Children under 15 are considered as living with the persons
responsible for their education. If it was not possible to obtain accurate information about this, they are considered as living with their mother.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, making it possible to find again the individual's place in the genealogical table. In the example noted, refer to the table of the Dju lineage, line D, no. 7.

601 Genealogical tables. These are of unequal value according to the
128 age and the memory of the old people consulted. In general
(115) they go back to three generations beyond the oldest of the old
men now alive.

(165) Since the Boni show remarkable longevity, and the average
difference in age between two generations can be estimated at 31 years, one can assume as probable that the most distant ancestress known of each lineage was born between the middle and the end of the 18th century. For example, if we assume that
[613] Kuluba, the ancestress of the Awara lakka, was about 100 years
old in 1956, we can take for granted that she was born about 1856 and that her great-grandmother was born about 1760.

613 The most ancient ancestress known of each lineage is certainly not the foundress. It is infinitely probable that the founding of these groups goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and that they were born on the same plantations where the ancestors of the Refugee Blacks were slaves; this would explain the names borne by the lineages, names which nearly always allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner.

601 In a general way, the memory of the Boni is very sure,
128 and the information given in the form: Ma X... begot So-and-so,

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601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum: Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y..., for it could be a question of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for persons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition without trying to rectify it.

613 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed, with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.
173 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who [illegible] them had died; the very memory of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names

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114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 **Names.** To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

[648] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of
[123] the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

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BONIVILLE

Legend

N°		House of		N°		House of	
1	△	Difu grand/man	Dikan	31	○	Pélui	P1, F34
2	△	Dodoya	Dip. 1, F82	32	△	Gonisutu (2nd house)	
3	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	33			
4	△	Fintiman	Dju, F6	34	△	Baafu	L2, E58
5	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7	35	○	Lomé	L2, F74
6	○	Eliana	Dju, F8	36	○	Térésa	L2, E57
7	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	37	△	Amakti	L2, F71
8	△	Doni	Dju, G13	38	△	Monpé	1. Poti
9	△	Lota	K3, E142	39	○	Aboométki	
9(a)	△	Booki	K3, E133	40	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7
10	○	Mimi	K3, E156	41	○	Amékiwan	1. Poti
11	○	Lémiki	K3, D130	42	○	Léya	K2, F99
12	△	Tofioto	K3, E157	43	○	Paata	1. Poti
13	△	Lébiman	K3, D132	44	○	Chima	1. Poti
14	○	Achiké	K3, E140	45	○	Lésina	K2, F69
15	○	Sooto	K3, E142	46	△	Todo	K2, F68
16	○	Maka	K3, E146	47	○	Awini	K1, E37
17	○	Marta	K3, F140	48	△	Todo	K2, F68
18 19	○	Waway	K3, E130	49 50	△ △	Noël Kallawa	Dip. 1, F83 1. Poti
20	○	Afiingi	K3, D120	51	○	Bada	Dip. 1, F1
21	○	Akyénki	K3, E144	52	△	Madéko	K2, E69
22	△	Makalanchi	K3, F130	53	○	Amanichi	Dip. 1, F7
23	△	Sintamann	K3, E145	54	○	Cécilia	Dip. 1, E9
24	△	Asékéyé	P1, G25	55	△	Dyakata	Dip. 1, E4
25	△	Bukuman	P1, F32	56	△	Alichi	Dip. 1, F5
26	○	Apinda	P1, G96	57	○	Asumé	Dip. 1, F2
27	△	Gonisutu	P1, G64	58			
28	○	Alasani	P1, F34	59	○	Léya	K2, F99
29	△	Bénanu	P1, G61	60	△	Todo	K2, F68
30	△	Nanga	P1, G31				

Total on January 1, 1958: 116 persons, including 43 children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

Adult inhabitants whose residence in Boniville is not normal: none.

The members of the small Poti lineage, founded about 50 years ago by a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Ochi†, have normal residence here through their foundress. No Djuka, Saramaka, or Paramaka lives in Boniville.

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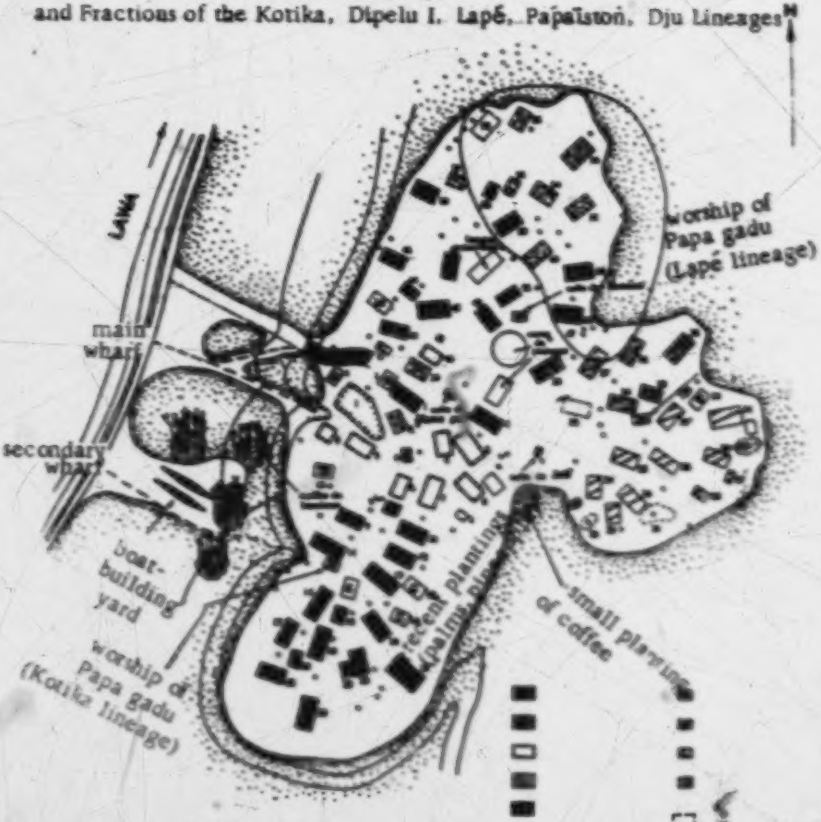
Agodé Village
(Boniville)
in Oct. 1957
Dikan Lineage
and Fractions of the Kotika, Dipelu I. Lapé, Papaïston, Dju Lineages


N
LAWA
main wharf
secondary wharf
boat-building yard
worship of Papa gadu (Kotika lineage)
worship of Papa gadu (Lapé lineage)
recent plantings (palms, pines)
small planting of coffee
Scale 1/1000

/touffes de bambous = clumps of bamboo;
culte de = worship of;
cases de passage = guest houses;
hangar mortuaire = mortuary shed/

/see symbols on p. 63a/

Fig. 7.

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/The symbols below refer to Fig. 7 on p. 66./

lineages:

▬	Dikan
■	Kotika
▭	Dju
▩	Dipelu
▨	Lapé
▧	Papaliton
▭	Poti (Djuka origin)

⌧	chapels (gadu ɔsu)
■	Munu ɔsu (1)
▣	kitchens
▣	various outbuildings (granaries, etc.)
⬚	building in ruins
●	single trees
⊙	clump of banana trees
⊙	clump of pinot palms /ouassaï/

(1) Houses to which women retire during their menstrual periods

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

162
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Legend

No.		House of		No.		House of	
3	○	Djalufa	Dip. 1, E8	25	△	Fambien	Dip. 1, E82
6	△	Kanun	Dip. 1, E3	26	○	Asuwêntina	K2, E73
		(usually lives in Konika		28 29	△	Damini	Dip. 1, E47
8	△	Biani	Dip. 1, F76	30	○	Azuna	Dip. 1, E49
9	○	Saume	Dip. 1, E53	31 32	○	Towachi	Dip. 1, F64
10	△	Tabaye	Dip. 1, F73				
11	○	Saumé (2nd house)		33	△	Malpe	Dip. 1, F52
13	○	Abéna	Dip. 1, D39	34	△	Babun (2nd house)	
14	△	Poisu	Dip. 1, F77	36	○	Anili	Dip. 1, F80
15	△	Toli	Dip. 1, D44	37	○	Eline	Dip. 1, E44
16	○	Maia	Dip. 1, F80	38	○	Azou	Dip. 1, G30
17	△	Abagun	Dip. 1, E35	39	○	Munanga	Dip. 1, F51
19	△	Bayamati	Dip. 1, E56	41	○	Aprusa	Dip. 1, F54
20	△	Simon	Dip. 1, F79	42	○	Kodja	Dip. 1, F55
21	△	Manko	Dip. 1, F75	43	○	Saayé	Dip. 1, F56
[622] 22	△	Babun village head	Dip. 1, D40	45	○	Péechina	Dip. 1, E42

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asuwêntina 1926, raised by her father Fambîen, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Tom 1936, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Simondo 1935, raised by his father Konuman in Loka, stayed there
○ Baïkom 1924, raised by her father Malobi in Loka, stayed there
○ Méchi 1922, raised by her father Kodio in Loka, stayed there
○ Noko 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka
○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Popo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

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/47/

l'Enfant Perdu Village
(Dipelu I lo)
in 1957

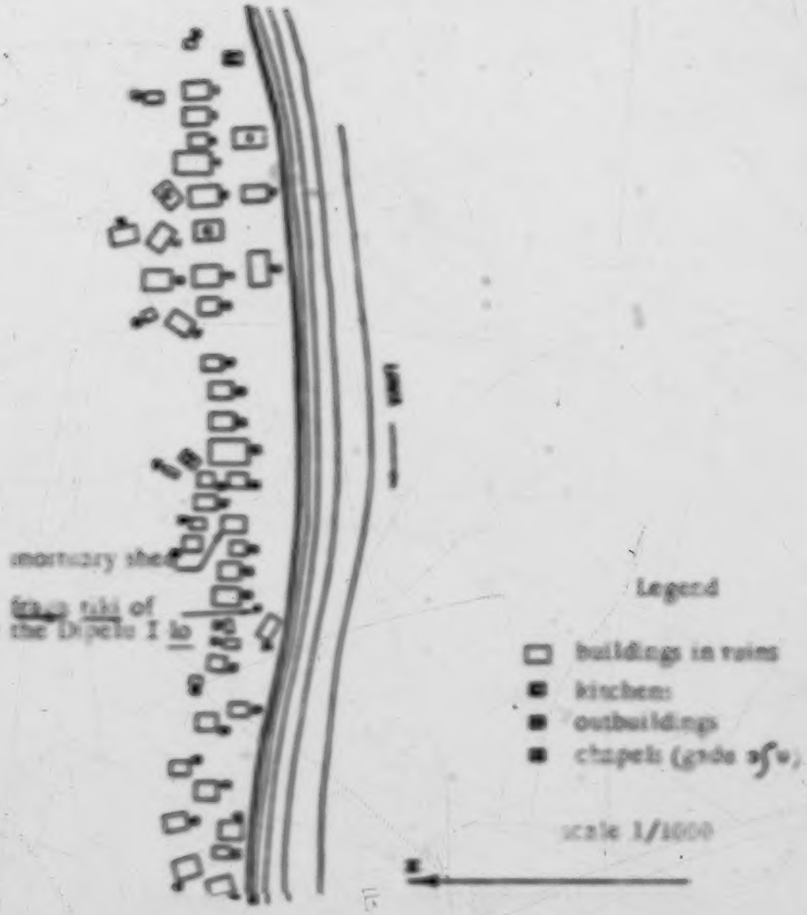
mortuary shed
faaka tiki of
the Dipelu I lo
Legend
buildings in ruins
kitchens
outbuildings
chapels (gado oso)
scale 1/1000

Fig. 8.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

Legend

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Loka Village

►	House of	
1 4	○ Bito	L1, D2
3	△ Téina	L1, E3
2 5	○ Tofi	L1, E1
6	△ Pikinbasia	L1, E2
7	○ Toloaman	L1, F1
8	△ Dosté	L1, E10
9	○ Bafkom	Dju, F10
11	△ Abété	
12	△ Makobi	Dip. 1, E50
13	○ Alagu	L1, D9
14	○ Apitko	L1, E7
15	○ Yaana	L1, E20
16	○ Mado	L1, E41
17	△ Topo	L1, E40
18	○ Ghi	L1, D24
19	○ Koko	L1, E42
20	△ Ayaahédé	L1, E27
21	○ Mayon	L1, F27
22	○ Saiéni	L1, E25
23	○ Kayé	L1, F28
24	△ Tingo	L1, F25
25	○ Awankina	L1, D23
26	○ Pusko	L1, E29
27	○ Do	L1, F35
28	○ Akomédi	L1, F34
29	○ Méchi	Aw. B.1, E27
30	○ Balaani	L1, F37
31	○ Mémé	L1, E34
32	○ Akuba	L1, E30
33	△ Akwado	L1, E22
34	○ Ondi	
35	△ Pwen	L1, E33

[622] →

►	House of	
36	△ Konimen	L1, E21
37	○ Akuba	L1, E30
38	○ Afoyéti	L1, F28
39	△ Abondo	Aw. B.1, F56
40	○ Mélia	L1, E22
41	○ Abiamen	L1, F30
42	○ Téké	L1, F44
43 44	△ Tamo	L1, F22
45 46	△ Foni	L1, F23
47	△ Somit	L1, E24
48	△ Papa, head of the village	L1, E20

Lapé Tabiki Village

►	House of	
1	○ Anamani	L1, D15
1a	Mamnian	L1, E20
2	Tabiki ?	
3	△ Bato	DJUKA
4	△ Sofi	L1, D12
5	○ Twa ?	L1, E14
6	○ Aniida ?	L1, C11
7	○ Kama	L1, E15
8	○ Adoimba	L1, E17
9	△ Masian	L1, E18
10	△ Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○ Yondo ? 1957	L2, G60
12	○ Aaskoumba ○ Angise	L2, E66 L2, F61
13	△ Anato	L2, G61

Total on January 1, 1958: [illegible] persons of whom 64 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

148/

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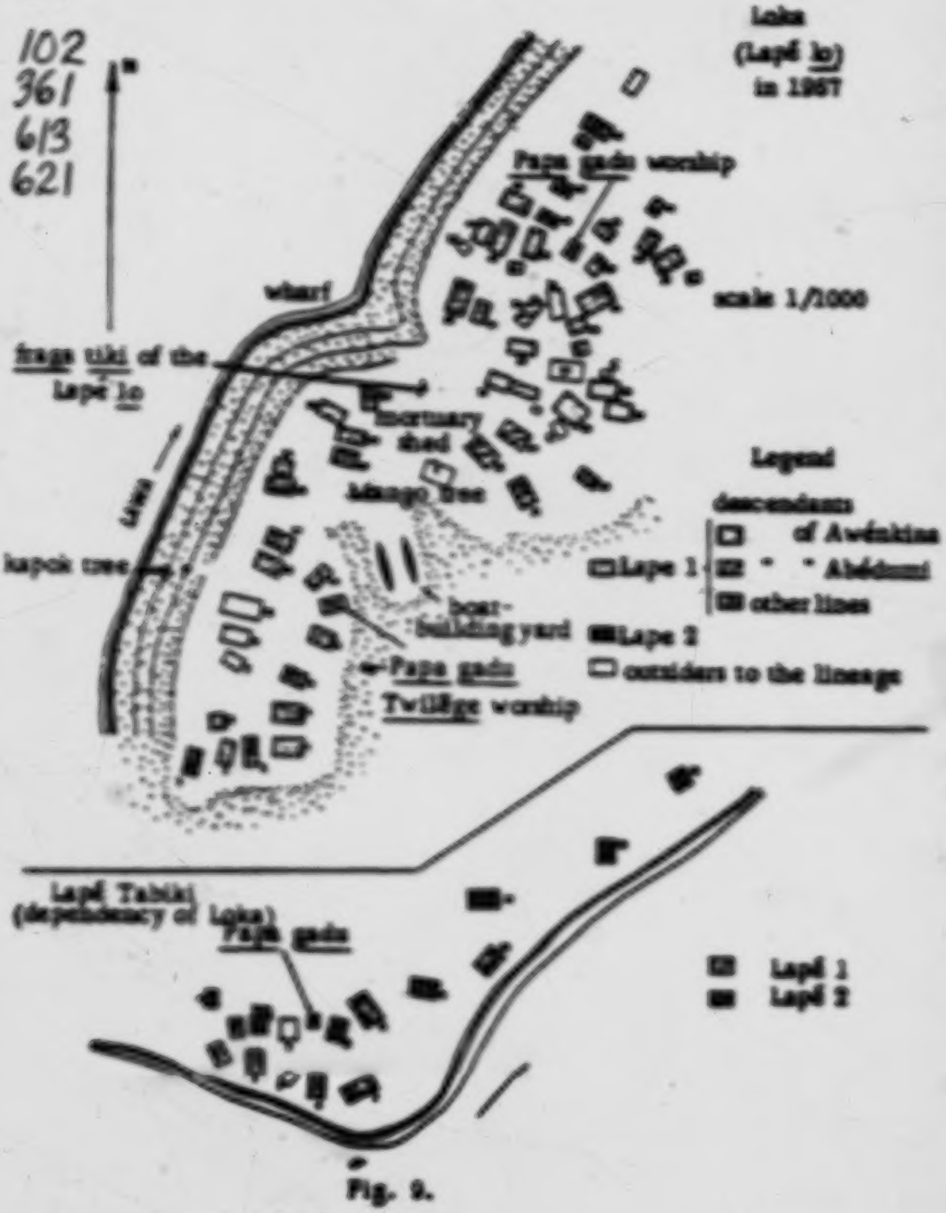
Loka
(Lapé lo)
in 1957
Papa gadu worship
scale 1/1000
wharf
frage tiki of the
Lapé lo
Lawa
mortuary
shed
Mango tree
kapok tree
boat-
building yard
Papa gadu
Twillige worship
Legend
descendants
of Awénkina
" " Abédomi
other lines
Lape 1
Lape 2
outsiders to the lineage
Lapé Tabiki
(dependency of Loka)
Papa gadu
Lapé 1
Lapé 2

Fig. 9.

/50/

Asisi Village--Dju Quarter

Legend

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n°	House of		n°	House of	
1	△ **Fraga**	Dju, F18	25	○ **Paana**	Dju, G2
2	△ **Loko**	Dju, F39	26	○ **Téodora**	Dju, G40
3	△ **Seesman**	Dju, E14	27	○ **Pikè**	Dju, F28
4	△ **Fraga** (2nd house)		29	○ **Dabisa**	Dju, G45
5	△ **Tyolo**	Dip. II, F48	30	△ **Yaka**	SAR.
6 } 7 }	△ **Wéna**	Dju, F38	31	△ **Soalufu**	Dju, G42
			32	○ **Aliki**	Dju, E23
8	△ **Koniami**	Aw. B.1, G1	33	○ **Maria**	Dju, F11
9	○ **Yéechi**	Dju, F3	34	△ **Achiké**	Dju, F13
10	○ **Wima † 1957**		35	○ **Félicia**	Dju, G41
13	△ **Féni**	Dju, G3	36	△ **Bernardin**	K1, D60
14	△ **Adiiso**, village head	Dju, F37	37	△ **Achiké** (2nd house)	
			38	○ **Dachini**	Dju, F16
15	○ **Pamasa**	Dju, E26	39	○ **Adyidya** (2nd house)	
16	○ **Buba**	Dju, G1	40	○ **Kukusa**	Dju, F40
17	○ **Aguba**	Dju, G14	41	△ **Faawé**	Dju, F19
18	○ **Sara**	Dju, E27	42	○ **Ursûla**	Dju, D3
20	○ **Ata**	Dju, F2	43	○ **Wima** † (2nd house)	
21	○ **Adyidya**	Dju, E19	44 } 45 }	○ **Diana**	Dju, E9
22	○ **Lénga**	Dju, F36	46	○ **Baawé**	Dju, E13
23	○ **Sara** (2nd house)				
24	○ **Tini**	Dju, F1			

Total on January 1, 1958: 67 persons of whom 24 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is not normal:

△ Koniami 1935, raised by his father among the Dju, stayed there afterward;

△ Tyolo 1919 idem !

△ Yaka 1870, old Saramaka moved in with his wife Aliki;

△ Bernardin 1885, raised by his father among the Dju where he took a wife;

○ Afalia 1930, raised by her father among the Dju, stayed with her brother by the same father Féni.

Total: 5 persons, of whom one is raising a child.

/51/

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Asisi
Dju Quarter
(Dju lo)
in 1957

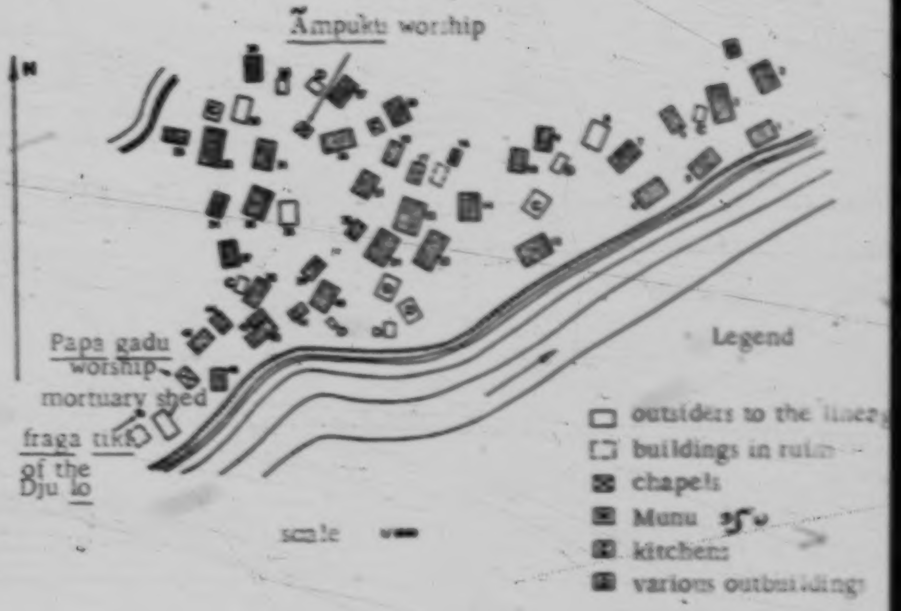
Ãmpuku worship
Papa gadu worship
mortuary shed
fraga tiki of the Dju lo
scale
Legend
outsiders to the lineag
buildings in ruin
chapels
Munu
kitchens
various outbuildings

Fig. 102

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[622)

Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○ Noëmi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△ Kondoku, village head		31	△ Empalé	DJUKA
		Aw. B. 1, E22	32	△ Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
3	○ Kyëti	Aw. B. 1, E30	33	○ Agyasu her	
4	○ Mani	1. Aß, d12		△ Maliki, husband	L2, F64
5	○ Paniki	1. Aß, d13	34	○ Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△ Awéni	1. Aß, c12	35	○ Bupi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△ Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○ Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○ Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○ Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△ Boulo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○ Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○ Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△ Malo	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△ Matapi	1. Aß, c3	40	○ Chitalina	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△ Beti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○ Lébimey	Aw. B. 1, F55
13	△ Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○ Namu	Aw. B. 1, E49
14	○ Kuluba † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○ Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○ Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△ Maina	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○ Aburu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○ Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○ Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○ Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△ Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△ Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○ Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○ Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○ Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	△ Béru	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○ Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○ Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△ Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E56	51	○ Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○ Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○ Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△ Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○ Soéé	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△ Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△ Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○ Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△ Baakuman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○ Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○ Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

591]

Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△ Empalé 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Péëyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Matapi.

Total: 3 persons.

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Asisi Village
Awara Bakka Quarter
Awara Bakka lo, fractions 1, 2, 3,
fragment of the Āfi lineage in 1957

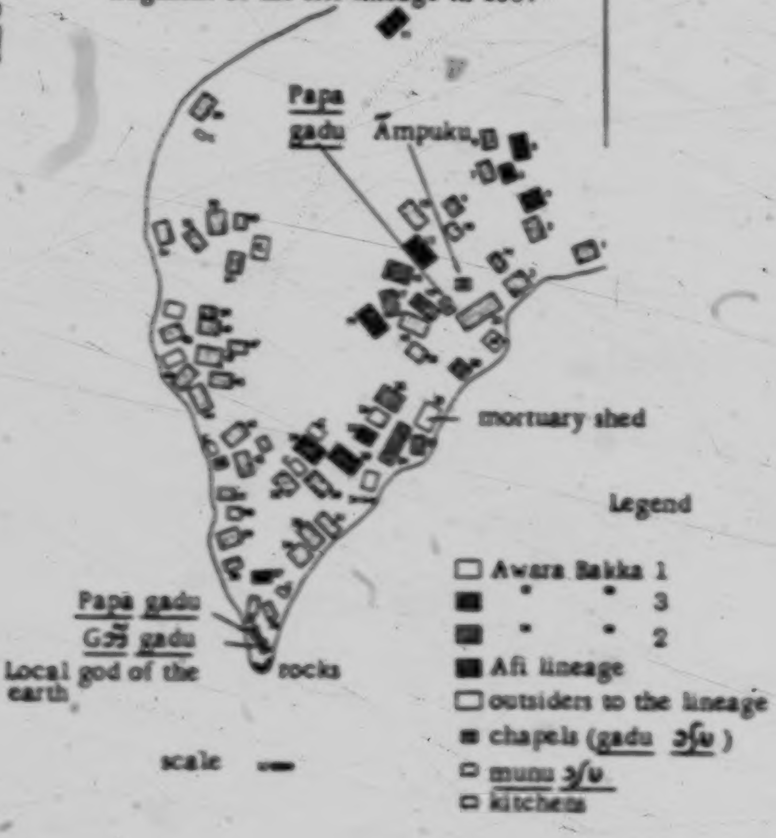
N
Papa gadu
Āmpuku
mortuary shed
Papa gadu
Gɔ̃ɔ̃ gadu
Local god of the earth
rocks
scale
Legend
☐ Awara Bakka 1
■ " " 3
▨ " " 2
■ Afi lineage
☐ outsiders to the lineage
■ chapels (gadu ɔsu)
▫ munu ɔsu
▫ kitchens

Fig. 11.

Papaïston Village

Legend

162

613	№	House of		№	House of	
621	1	○ Bélã	P1, F19	18	○ Kumata	P1, G1
	2	○ Oben	P1, E13	19	△ Sawen	P1, E7
	3	○ Dodo	P1, F11	20	○ Emilia	P1, F3
	4	△ Yusu	P1, E16	21	△ Galmo	P1, E15
	5	○ Kamen	P1, E14	22	○ Hélèna	P1, F2
	6	○ Agodéuman	P1, F10	23	○ Gou	P1, F8
	7	○ Mili	P1, F20	24	△ Afay †	
	8	○ Donasi † 1957	P1, E35	25	○ Puti	P2, F71
	9	○ Asentea	P1, E10	26	○ Ondi	P1, F49
	10	○ Aduudu	P1, H61	27	○ Atipay	P1, F47
[622]	11	△ Tefanié, village head	P1, E12	28	○ Dopi	P1, G40
	12	△ Tolinga	P1, E11	29	△ Agodéba	P1, E1
	13	○ Efa	P1, D4	30	○ Toïna	l. Toïna
	14	△ Aguundé	P1, F4	31	○ Apuulobi	l. Toïna
	15	△ Dodu	P1, F18	33	△ Apuyu	l. Toïna
	16	○ Kokoyo	P1, F9	34	○ Béndya	P1, F12
	17	○ Wilélmina	P1, F1	35	△ Mangoto	P1, F20

Total on January 1, 1958: 83 persons, of whom 36 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

No outsider to the lineage lives in the midst of the Papaïston; the members of the Toïna lineage live isolated at the southern end of the village.

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Papaïston Village
in Oct. 1957
Kawina or Papaïston lineage,
fragment of the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage

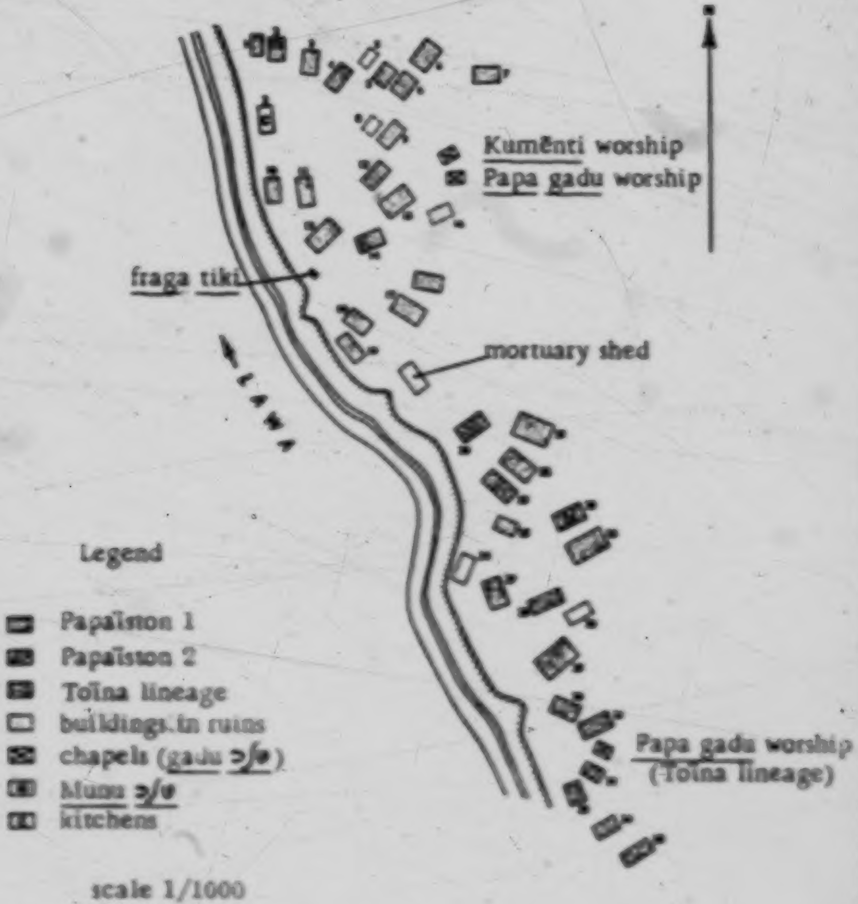
Kumënti worship
Papa gadu worship
fraga tiki
mortuary shed
LAWA
Papa gadu worship
(Toïna lineage)
Legend
Papaïston 1
Papaïston 2
Toïna lineage
buildings in ruins
chapels (gadu ɔ/ɵ)
Muun ɔ/ɵ
kitchens
scale 1/1000

Fig. 12.

/56/

621
614

Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128]
[361] We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/facing p. 56/

501
531

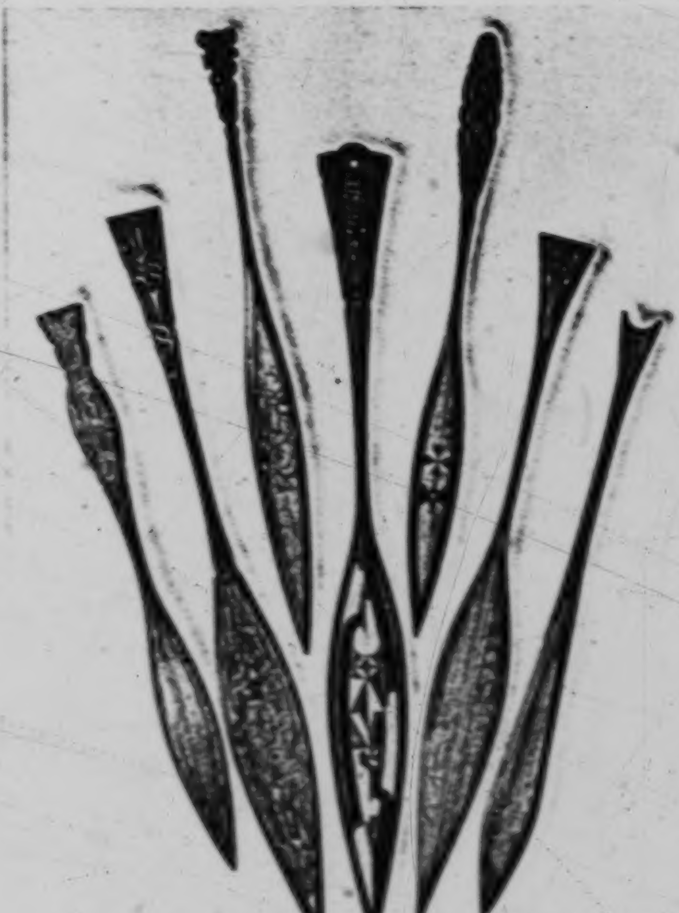

Fig. 13. Boni paddles.
At the right, for comparison, a Saramaka paddle.

/57/

621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 [613] Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied [162] [621] in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 670 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse.

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping; the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Bakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 571 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

621 When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipélu I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among these villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Boniville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/57 cont./

613 The descendants of ○ Monika † were scattered among these
621 three villages. △ Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; ○ Djalufu lived
from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu, Cécilia was raised in Boniville
where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128
167 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

167 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of ○Wétiti (Papaïston) and ○Ma Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

[162] [621] For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

(1) It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 597 599 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because
571 the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children
591 remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more
613 children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently
with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force
and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the
emotional level.

613 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni
571 country during the past 50 years: /59/
162

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810} = 7$ per cent of the Boni.

16
619 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621
213]
[613] Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters.

613 /59 cont./

621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages [591] coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the members of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awěnkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1, 2, 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 425 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi- [622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen [598] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.

/60/

351 There are no gardens around the cabins because the con-
[134] ditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation
[241] impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some
banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the
361 hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in
137 by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another
311 and sometimes very far from the village.

423 If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals,
custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees.
824 In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms
/attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all
[428] have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is
transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe.
428 The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the
824 inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man
613 sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree
to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville
[222] where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms
were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living
in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

172 [125] Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

	1876	Death of Grand Man Atyaba.
	1877	Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.
[621] [361]	1882	Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

/60 cont./

173 1891 (1) Death of Grand Man Anato.

1. The trips of the explorer Coudreau, who stayed in the Upper Maroni in 1888 and 1891, have left no memory behind.

1902 Discovery of the gold of the Inini.
1908 Death of Apatu.
1915 Death of Grand Man Ochi.
1915 (April) Death of the explorer Jean Laveau at the Grand Soula falls on the Litani.
1917 (Nov.) Nomination of Grand Man Awensay.
1918 (2) End of the "war against William." (2)

2. This date left a very precise memory, for it marked the end of a period of great misery.

1921 Creation of the short-lived "Compagnie des Transports Aériens Guyanais" /Guianan Air Transport Company/; hydroplane accident at the mouth of the Inini.
[313] 1925-26 A rosewood factory is established first in the Boni village of Kotika, then at the mouth of Coulé-Coulé Creek on the Litani.
1931 Monteux-Richard mission.
1936 Death of Grand Man Awensay.

/61/

173

1937	Mission to determine the trijunction point of the frontiers of French Guiana-Brazil-Surinam.
1939	Declaration of war.
1944-45	Not a precise point of reference. The Boni confuse the liberation of the territory with the end of the war.
1948	First I.G.N. mission.
1949	Mr. Aubert de la Rüe's mission; second I.G.N. mission.
1952	Third I.G.N. mission. /blank page/ /63/

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CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

571 [561] [585] [581] [583] The social institutions of the Refugee Blacks diverge noticeably from those of the African peoples from whom they issued. They do not include age grades, men's societies, or initiation; marriage involves neither a contract between kin groups nor "dowry."

571 626 [771] [156] In a general way these societies founded by rebel slaves who had retained an extreme horror of all oppression were organized so as not to have any material constraint weigh upon the individual. Their institutions are entirely founded on the idea of protection against suprahuman perils; the individual remains perfectly free, and he adheres /to these institutions/ only in proportion as he is conscious of these perils. The custom of the Refugee Blacks, devoid of any means of material coercion, tends to develop within the individual the feeling that he is constantly threatened.

/63 cont./

591 624 156 [182] [761] that he can protect himself only by submitting to the law of the group. In this doubtless must be seen the deep reason for the importance attached to death and mourning, events around which is centered the activity of the usual societies and which entail a veritable mobilization.

626 971 It would be very difficult to condense the custom of the Refugee Blacks into a rigorous code. If one wished to do it, one would have to write as Article 1: "The living will conform to the will of the gods and the ancestors as it is expressed through the mouths of those possessed and by the movements of the bearers of the dead."

613 619 Each one of the tribes of the Refugee Blacks is formed of a certain number of matrilineages.

There is no limit on the number of these lineages, and it can be asserted that if any lineage whatever, detached from another tribe, asks to live in the midst of the Boni, it will be welcomed. From the first generation the children consider themselves as Boni.

In this regard one can cite the example of the Awara Bakka 3 lineage and that of the small lineage founded in Bonivilie by a Djuka woman, wife of Grand Man Ochi. All her descendants consider themselves Boni. /64/

[829] [613] But only the great lineages which constituted the tribe at its origin are social units recognized by the grand man, and only their heads are called to be members of the council.

128 We shall study first the interior functioning of the lineage, then the institutions going beyond the framework of the lineages.

/*64 cont.* /

Functioning of the Lineage

613 We have seen that the effective social group, *so*, fraction of an extended lineage, is a social unit possessing all that is necessary to a human group to live, settling its differences and enforcing its rights:

--Ancestor worship;

--A head filling at the same time the role of priest of the ancestors and judge;

--Collective rights over a portion of land.

613
619 A lineage could live perfectly independent without any tie of dependence vis-à-vis any tribe whatsoever. Actually, there exist in the interior of Surinam several lineages of very ancient origin (which are joined under the name of Bakabuchi = back of the bush) who live totally independent.

613
561 No privileged line of descendants exists within a lineage and the only hierarchy recognized is that of age, or more exactly of closeness to the founding ancestress.

613
561
604 Collective tutelage of uncles in the classificatory sense is effective only in childhood, but the principle of it continues during the whole lifetime. In a discussion a man must avoid violently contradicting one of his "uncles" and finds it normal that more weight is attached to the opinion of this uncle than to his own. In 1956 we were subjected to some disagreeable incidents due to a *bossman* who was the classificatory uncle (although the same age) of the motorman of his boat; the motorman hesitated to order him vigorously as he did his other *bossman* and he, on his part, did not fail to remind his "nephew" of the respect due him.

/64 cont./

613
561 Nevertheless the lineage is not strictly speaking divided into age grades; and when the men assemble in council for an affair which concerns the whole group, all may take the floor without consideration either of age or of place in the genealogy.

613
571
561 The council (kuutu). This is the principal social institution within the lo. The kuutu is the assembly of the men of the lo without consideration of age. No precise rule defines the age at which an adolescent may begin to attend it, and in principle all may take the floor. But decorum requires that unless they are personally interested in the question or have something important to say, the young let the elders do the talking. /65/

613
571 It is the captain (hedemã) and in his absence the eldest of the lineage who presides. He faces the assemblage, surrounded by some of the oldest men.

[539] Opposite him he has a respondent (piki mã) who greets all his sentences with ritual approbations hiya, hiya ba!, na so!, etc., without which a Refugee Black could not suitably make his speech.

[562] Each one then speaks if he feels the need to express his opinion. Women do not take part in the council unless it is a question of a daughter's marriage; but it happens that men leave the meeting to go get the advice of their mothers and take their places again. If it concerns a simple affair without suprahuman complications, such as the fixing of the price of a piece of work, the discussion is often quickly over; but in the opposite case the discussion continues interminably, for there is no exact rule for concluding it. Only a negative rule exists: the determined opposition of one-fourth to one-fifth of the council members prevents the carrying out of a project.

/65 cont./

613 It seems that they expect unanimity to occur and that
571 basically (here are found again the mental mechanisms peculiar to the Refugee Blacks), they expect it to take place by itself, to impose itself as if obvious. If nothing of the sort happens, they separate without deciding anything.

613 This public discussion of all important questions results, in
571 the thought of the Refugee Blacks, not so much from a belief in
828 the wisdom of assemblies as from fear of malevolence. If questions were debated in a small group, there would immediately be mistrustful and jealous minds who would see dark intrigues in it. The constant concern of the Refugee Blacks, when they have something important to say, is to find witnesses. That is in fact the role of the council, and it is why there is neither a lower age limit for taking part nor a precise rule governing the fashion of conducting the discussion.

613 The Captain or hedemã. The head of each of the great lineages
554 which have been part of the tribe since its origin is recognized by the grand man as hedemã or "captain" (this word had been used since the original settlement of Europeans in Guiana to designate the chiefs of Indian tribes).

[692] The captains preside over the Gãnti kuutu, supreme council whose functions are principally judiciary.

No precise rule of succession exists, and the choice of the members of the lineage is entirely free with regard to kinship ties.
[613] When the old people are questioned about this, they usually answer that the successor must be chosen from among the classificatory "nephews" of the dead man, that is, from among the members of the lineage who are one more generation away from the foundress.

/65 cont./

613 554 [183] It is enough to consult the genealogical tables, on each of which we have indicated the transmission of the office of captain, to be convinced that nothing of the kind is practiced: besides, it would be impossible in fact. The council chooses from among [643] /66/ the "brothers" and the "nephews" of the deceased. If the nomination is obtained, it is valid only if the grand man does not oppose his veto. He can require that the council be begun again.

613 554 643 The grand man observes the behavior of the new head for about a year, and if he is satisfied with him, he calls him to Boniville together with the members of the lineage. He turns over to him the bench and the baton of command (waka tiki) prepared by the doyen of the lineage. He takes him by the hand and has him sit down on the bench while proclaiming him head.

613 554 This appointment is made for life; once named, a captain cannot be dismissed.

The succession of the last three captains of the Dju lo is particularly interesting (see the genealogical table of this group).

In 1948, the first time we passed through, Diolè (E1) had been captain for nearly 50 years, succeeding Doomé, whose position we have not been able to place exactly in the genealogical table.

Diolè died in 1951 at about 90 years of age. At the time of the mourning his yorka was questioned, and it designated ((through the medium of the coffin bearers) as a desirable successor one of his nephews in the classificatory sense, named Loko (F39).

[643] [685] The council which met upon the close of the mourning for Diolè, in 1952, approved the designation of Loko; but the grand man opposed this appointment because Loko had been guilty of a serious crime (aggravated theft) and had incurred a sentence.

/66 cont./

613 The choice of the council then turned to Atikati (E18), the
554 oldest among them (he was more than 70 years old), this even though there were other classificatory nephews of Diolè, perfectly capable.

Atikati died in 1955. The choice of the council, meeting in 1956, was Adiiso (F37), a man of about 60.

The place of various ones on the genealogical table shows well that no precise rule of succession exists, and that the choice of the council is free.

Likewise, in looking at the genealogical table of the Awara Bakka lo, divided into three fractions, one sees that the office of captain can pass indiscriminately from one to the other. It passed from Asèmbay (Aw.B.2) to Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), then to Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

These observations permit the statement that there is no privileged line within the lineage (1).

1. Understanding by "line" for lack of a more appropriate word, a linking causing the following of an individual, in the next generation, of a single individual chosen according to a definite criterion. One could speak for example in certain types of organization of lines of eldest sons, playing a privileged role with respect to the other lines constituting the lineage. Nothing like this exists among the Refugee Blacks.

/66 cont./

613
554 The small, recently founded lineages attached to a lo each designate a head: for example, the Afi lineage has Awéni as head. But this head remains subject to the authority of the captain of the lo and his office has no official existence.

/67/ The appointment is made by a council - kuutu - of the lineage, but it is not valid until endorsed by the grand man. [787]

When the deceased captain did not, while living, designate any successor, his yɔrka is interrogated in order to know whom he prefers. That does not have the force of law but can influence the council.

The council meets several days after the end of mourning for the deceased captain. All the male members of the lineage, regardless of age, give their opinion. Strictly speaking, they do not vote; but the nomination is considered valid only if three-quarters of those present are in agreement. If not, they disband without having decided anything, and the lineage can remain without a head for years. On this topic can be cited the example of the Awara Bakka lo, which remained without a head from 1935 (?) to 1953, until the appointment of Kouduku. During this time the [643] grand man had designated Captain Popo, head of the Lapé lineage, to secure the interim. As for the religious functions, they were taken care of by the doyen of the lineage.

The captain has the following functions within the lineage:

1) He is priest of the ancestor worship and presides over [793] the prayers and offerings made before the fraga tiki. In this duty [769] he is replaced in case of absence by the oldest man of the lineage.

In case of the death of a member of the lineage from the [761] effect of the kunu, the captain convokes all his people in order [782] to proceed to collective prayers and offerings intended to appease the gods;

/67 cont./

613 554 692 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot [682] intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[754] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] [578] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 446 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/68 cont./

613 The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at
624 all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of
[562) the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over
554 the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the
241 soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one
782 prays on his own behalf.

613 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the
554 right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked un-
681 worthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their
[304] entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not
[852] practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages:
[561] that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage.

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/68 cont./

561 198 The class of the young people, yunku sama, has definite activities; "style," that is to say, elegance, dancing, singing; it has a special language made up from taki-taki by inversion or addition of syllables. When the language begins to be known outside the group of young people, it is abandoned and another is invented. These past years the language in vogue was akɔɔpina, of Djuka origin; it had given rise to a whole folklore of songs.

561 Two other age classes appear to be rather clearly differentiated: that of the elders /69/ - gaa sama - (older than some 50 years), whose voices are preponderant in the councils, and that of the old men - gaandi sama - (older than 65 to 70 years).

[888] It is conceded by all that only the elders possess wisdom and knowledge, and in principle, in a discussion, the opinion of the eldest of them has the force of law.

575 571 Neither does one perceive among the Refugee Blacks any customary societies playing a role comparable to the men's society in the Sudan for example. In a general way their social life, very individualistic in spite of appearances, knows no other organization than the one resulting from kinship ties.

767 Nevertheless, the organization of the men within each village with an eye to the mourning ceremonies can be regarded as a rough approximation to customary societies:

--Kisimã or coffin-makers;
--Olɔma or grave-diggers.

But these societies are narrowly specialized and their customary powers exist only as long as the duration of their effective work.

562 571 Men and women. Even within the lineage where men and women call one another brother, sister, aunt ... the relations between men and women are marked by mistrust.

/69 cont./

562 828 [191] It is assumed once and for all that women are shrews on whom one cannot count and from whom one can get nothing. The Refugee Blacks are inexhaustible on this subject and their opinion about the women of their group is very similar to that of Africans in general: they call them ill-natured, devoid of feeling, selfish, greedy, and unfaithful.

562 571 [965] In general, women are held apart from regular social life; no form of customary society of women exists. In the mourning ceremonies, which correspond to a veritable mobilization of the village, they play no role, except to prepare the meals.

562 789 794 Yet the women play indirectly an important role in the social life by way of the cults of possession. The Papa gadu gods so formidable have women nearly exclusively as bearers, and we shall see in studying the functioning of the kunu that they are the principal actors in this. Through this activity, which is exerted in arbitrary fashion on the outskirts of the institutions of regular social life, the women maintain around themselves an atmosphere of fear; it is not impossible that the functioning of these cults is influenced by the concern of the women to maintain their privileged position in the society of the Refugee Blacks.

562 157 Many women are charitable and have a certain generosity toward the members of their family, insuring the maintenance of the old men without resources. But their benevolence is essentially subjective and extends only to a small circle of personal friends and their nearest relatives. As soon as the elders appeal to them for a question of general interest, claiming to give them orders or even advice, they meet an attitude systematically malevolent and stubborn. /70/

[613] The lineage heads avoid giving them orders directly, for they run a strong risk of getting themselves insulted, as we have observed many a time.

/70 cont./

159 592 613 [591] In March, 1957, Awéni, head of the Afi lineage, established in Asisi, was concerned about regrouping the members of his lineage and especially bringing back to Asisi Magdaléna (c20), a woman of about 45 years who had settled in Kormotibo near her husband L... († 1955), with her children and others whom she had raised. He went to Kormotibo and pointed out to her that since her husband was dead, she no longer had any reason to stay there and that she should come back to Asisi. Magdaléna insulted him in front of the inhabitants of the village, proclaimed that she had no orders to receive from anybody; then when he insisted, she armed herself with a stick and chased him across the village as far as the landing place. He had to re-embark precipitately to the laughter of the Kormotibo people.

Political and Legal Powers

613 613 The grand man. The head of the Dikan lo fills the office of grand man of the Boni. The present grand man, Difu, was about 67 years old in 1958.

[173] Oral tradition has kept the names of his seven predecessors:

Gongo (Dikan lo)	1810-1840	dates noted according to Coudreau
Labi (Adam?) (Dikan lo)	1840-1870	
Aryaba (Kotika lo)	1870-1876	
Anato (Kotika lo)	1876-1891	
Ochi (Dikan lo)	1891-1915	
Awensay id.	1917-1936	
Difu id.	since 1937.	

[195] According to information collected by Coudreau in 1887, Gongo was the successor to Agosu, himself successor to Boni. Upon the death of Labi, there were only women and children in the Dikan lo. The office of grand man then passed to the Kotika lo with Aryaba and Anato. It then came back to the Dikan lo with Ochi.

/70 cont./

643 613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 [165] [594] Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 692 578 The grand man judges without appeal disputes between members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[613] [583] [584] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

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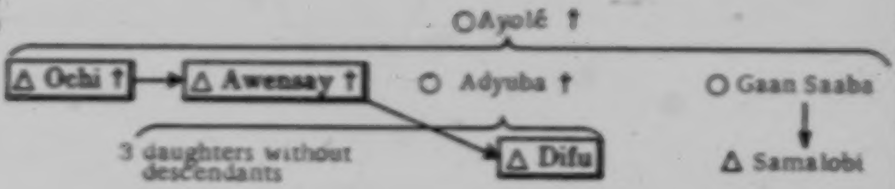

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

643 592 [598] [423] /11 cont./

--Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or [183] threatened each other. The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 423 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa. [648] [184] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 224 [226] The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of __la nivrée__. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country, the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 648 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /12/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

/72 cont./

579 691 641 The morality of the Refugee Blacks knows in effect only obligations of a social and religious order. As for everything concerning material life, each one has the absolute right, one could even say the duty, to act as he sees fit, insofar as he does not wrong anyone else.

643 671 641 [156] If the grand man gave an order obliging someone to act against his own interest, for example if he wished to lower arbitrarily the price of boats, this order would be lawfully void. If the grand man has very great personal influence, he can persuade the Boni that it is to their interest to obey such a prescription, but in no case can his command have the effect of imposing by force an arbitrary order foreign to the social and religious tradition; the present grand man is weak in character to boot, sensitive to the influence of the Creoles and very little given to exerting any authority.

643 791 In reality, the office of grand man is above all religious. The grand man centralizes, if one may say so, the struggle against evil forces and watches ceaselessly over the welfare of the collectivity.

643 764 When a man dies, his near relatives come to report on the questioning of the *yɔrka*. Burial cannot take place until the grand man has made sure that all the prescriptions have been filled. People come to report to him again after the burial so that he can be sure that no suprahuman danger remains.

643 775 [782] The grand man has special power over the *yɔrka* (spirits) of the dead, which the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks place on a level intermediate between the human and the divine. When one of these *yɔrka* exerts against a lineage a vengeance (*kunu*) whose malignity goes beyond habitual bounds, the grand man beseeches it to stop; they allege that things go back to normal, at least for a time.

This power attributed to the grand man invests him, in the eyes of the Boni, with a suprahuman character. It is the very foundation of his political power.

/72 cont./

643 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe.
778 It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama grɔ and who
241 prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni
793 regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by
776 virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against
782 wisi (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive
156 man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or
681 if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth
[673] serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville,
685 Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men
689 by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding
462 the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by for-
681 bidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

/73 cont./

643 689 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work in the grand man's clearing, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M..., of Papaisson village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 648 292 199 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 [576] To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him but places himself in profile with respect to him.

[644] [357] [466] The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life. Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 466 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boatmen two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

/73 cont./

643 The present grand man, contrary to his predecessors, has
644 only one wi[illegible]-She is dressed like the other women and works
586 at her clearing like everyone else, /74/ but her marriage to the grand man imposes special obligations on her: she can not divorce him; neither can he repudiate her.

643 The attitude of the Boni toward the grand man is a curious
829 mixture of respect and disparagement. They regard him as the living symbol of their nation, and each one resents as if it were a personal insult an outsider having an incorrect attitude toward him. But their undisciplined spirit kicks up at the measures he is obliged to take to make them respect customary law, and even the authority of a poised and benevolent man like Grand Man Difu is not willingly accepted. As a matter of fact, the Boni stand for
[954] the authority of the grand man as they adhere to the worship of
[995] their gods, by the feeling of an absolute and inexorable necessity; in their minds the grand man is above all the priest of Odun; if the grand man were not there, they would be without defense against the wisiman, without recourse against the vengeance exercised by the yorka of the dead of other lineages.

The political power of the grand man is entirely based on these beliefs, and if they were to collapse, he would disappear
[822] with them. Nobody would submit to any other law than that of the lineage, founded upon fear of the ancestors.

692 The lanti kuutu. This is the assembly of the men, without dis-
693 tinction of age (1) or kinship; this council (lanti = law) constitutes the legal apparatus of the Boni.

[561] 1. There is no precise rule for fixing the age from which an adolescent may sit in this council. It is apparently when he has reached full physical development and earns his living by his own efforts, about 18 to 20 years. He does not have to be married.

/14 cont./

692 693 [641] An essential principle of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is that every citizen carries the law within himself. If several men are requested to arbitrate a private quarrel, it is said that they form a lanti kuutu. But they can hand down only a sentence of conciliation. Only the general assembly convoked by the grand man has the power to impose its decision.

692 775 The ordinary role of the lanti kuutu is to judge the dead, to make sure that they were not wisimã (sorcerers), to proceed to their interrogation in order to give the force of law to the answers, especially in what concerns inheritance.

692 693 775 The lanti kuutu meets when a death is announced; the first to arrive go to the grand man who designates two of the captains to preside over the council this time (for all the members are equal). In fact, rare are the councils attended by all the men present in the villages. Most of the time the lanti kuutu groups only about 30 men, mostly old men.

692 The lanti kuutu meets very rarely to judge a living man. That has happened only three times between 1948 and 1957.

692 687 In 1948 the grand man convoked the lanti kuutu to judge a man who, duly called as boatman to take him to Saint-Laurent, had not come. He was sentenced to make a pallisade around the grand man's habitation, which took more than a month of work. /15/

692 685 In 1953 the council met to judge Loko (Dju), who had made himself guilty of aggravated theft (simulated shipwreck to the detriment of a Benzdorp trader and resale of the merchandise), for which he had been condemned by French justice to several months in prison. Loko had to make honorable amends in the presence of the assembled members of his lineage, then he was sentenced to make 50 planks for the benefit of the grand man.

[224] [643] In August, 1957, the council met to judge Pototo (Asisi-Dju), 23 years old, and Amusupẽ (Asisi-Aw.B.), 70 years old, who were guilty of a grave offense: misappropriation of a tapir (maîpouri) killed by a Djuka who, feeling gratitude toward the grand man, had made known his intention to offer him part of the meat.

/15 cont./

692 685 [224] The Djuka had killed the tapir which had sunk. Pressed for time, he had had to leave, requesting the Asisi people to look for it.

[251] [262] The next day Pototo and Amusupé found the animal floating between two waters. They hid it in the bush and had it smoke-dried on their own behalf. They ate it with their wives (about 100 kilos of meat).

That ended up by becoming known, and a jealous man denounced them to the grand man.

Called before the *Boni kuutu*, they had to apologize and were each sentenced to pay as a fine to the grand man a demijohn of 15 liters of tafia (worth about 6,000 francs) within four months.

[735] Both of them were at a loss to pay this fine, belonging to the category of ne'er-do-wells who have no regular activity and live from day to day, selling some fish or game from time to time.

[613] Amusupé appealed to Captain Konduku, head of his lineage, who agreed to pay for the tafia for him, Amusupé reimbursing him little by little.

[613] [589] As for Pototo, the head of his lineage refused categorically to help him because he had eaten the *maïpouri* alone without allowing his family to share it (the village people would have found it normal to profit by the crime, but they deemed it immoral that [123] one of their relatives had deprived them of meat). After three and a half months, Pototo began to occupy himself seriously at a paid job which he had the luck to find because we needed a boatman for two weeks.

577 626 [522] The Boni did nothing but laugh while telling us this story. Affairs of this kind, which do not involve any suprahuman intervention, escape in large measure their social morality; they have a certain feeling for what should be done, but submit to it only in proportion as they fear a material and immediate sanction.

/75 cont./

591 In fact, the society of the Refugee Blacks has not elaborated
771 true political institutions; it is essentially a grouping for collective
692 defense against suprahuman perils. The council, like the grand
man, has power and authority only insofar as it remains closely
bound to this function.

511 Absence of subordination. Among the Refugee Blacks no privileged
[565] class exists. /76/ and they all face life on a footing of rigorous
equality; all receive the same education, must cultivate the soil,
[554] build their boats and houses, and live by paid work. The differences
in standard of living observed from one to another stem basically
from intelligence and work; and that, in spite of the belief in the
possibility of getting rich by sorcery, is clearly understood by all.

565 Although the Boni willingly engage in paid work for one
[445] another in transportation by boat, there exists no tendency toward
the formation of a class of rich people and one of wage-earners.
571 No servants exist among them, and one observes in their mutual
461 relations no exploitation of the weak. Neither does one observe that
[357] a rich man tries to have done by another, for pay, the customary
[462] jobs he must carry out for the benefit of his wife (clearings, building
of boats). This would be looked on with great disfavor. The grand
[643] man himself, if his grandson is not there to help him, goes himself
to draw water from the river and he does it ostensibly, even though
he has a constant concern for his prestige.

829 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors are certainly
at the base of this conception; for they have inspired in the Refugee
Blacks a particular sense of human dignity which is not found to the
same degree in Africa.

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[444]
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/76 cont./

No form of trade (1) is traditionally observed among them,

1. Since 1954, one of them, enriched by boat transport, set up a food business at Kotika, but this is a man more than half "creolized" and one who established himself in the midst of Creoles.

this activity being for them manifestly tied to the idea of the exploitation of others; there is not even any market in the villages. Each person produces, or finds among the people of his own lineage, what food he needs; as for imported objects, the Boni buy them in the course of their trips from the coast traders. That plague of African societies, pseudo-trade or parasitism, is unknown to the Refugee Blacks. Just as one meets among them neither ragamuffins nor beggars, one perceives nothing nasty or low in their social relations.

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In their collective life there is something aboveboard, clean, which strikes one on first meeting them and which one does not tire of admiring, the further one penetrates into the functioning of their institutions.

6:Hurault--107a K-S (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 96/

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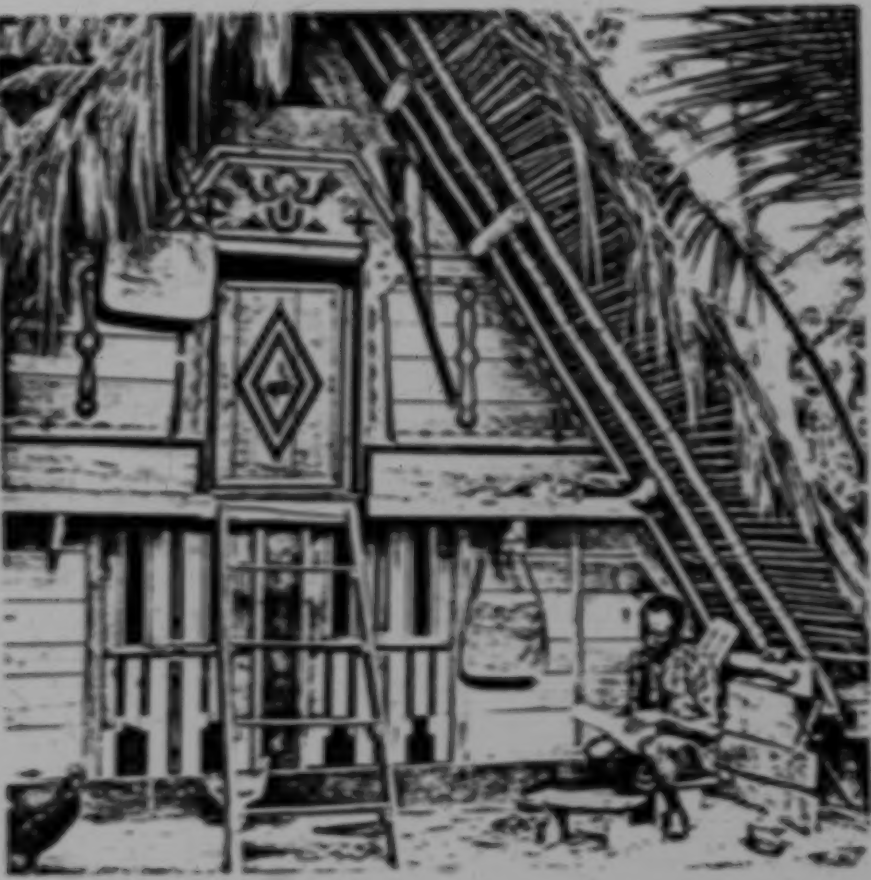

Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

/111/

CHAPTER V

000

STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES (1)

[114]

1. Part written with the cooperation of Mr. P. Frenay, assistant technical geographer.

Appropriation of Land in the Customary Law of the Refugee Blacks

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The fundamental principle of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks as far as land is concerned is that only the lineage can retain real rights. The individual can hold only a right of use, which disappears at his death.

This right concerns exclusively the working of the land for plantings and does not extend, as we shall see further on, to hunting and gathering.

Each lineage possesses recognized rights over certain portions of land, more or less well delimited according to the density of the population, but known by all and giving no occasion (at least in Boni country) for any dispute.

Right of use. Within these zones there is joint possession of the rights among all the members of the lineage; each one has rights of use over a certain number of "clearings" which he habitually uses in turn to make his plantings.

The right of use can be given away: for example, if someone thinks he will no longer need a clearing he was habitually cultivating, he gives the right to utilize it to another member of the lineage.

423 /77 cont./
613 Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only
671 loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would
[428] be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks,
hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession
of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process
[425] from clearings. Once this harvest is made, the land can be
occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who
wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily
settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge
it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle,
since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grand-
father" in the classificatory sense.

423 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided
428 for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters
have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful
241 all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of
128 the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history
of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to
consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not
able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighbor-
hood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use
of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings
241 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

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1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

/78 cont./

Clearings Studied in January, 1957

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
101 ○ Téodora (G40)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of her mother.
102 ○ Kukusa (F40)	1953	right created by Kukusa by clearing off an old secondary forest without a known user.
103 ○ Paana (G2)	1955	clearing cleared off by ○ Wima (E3); transmitted during her lifetime to her daughter ○ Tini (F1), then to ○ Pamasa (E26), raised by Tini. Pamasa worked it once, then gave her right to ○ Paana, daughter of Tiya /Tina?/.
104 ○ Tini (F1)	1954	right created by Tini (F1), who cleared it off for the first time (about 1920?); she has cut it three times in all; keeps her right of use.
105 ○ Lènga (F37) /F3[illegible]?/	1954	cleared off by ○ Lènga for the first time (about 1920?). She has cut it 3 times in all; keeps her right of use.

/78 cont./

Clearings Studied in January, 1957 (cont.)

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
106 ○ /△ ?/ Féni (G3)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of △ Agoabuchi, old man of the Dju lineage (position on the genealogical table uncertain). /79/
107 ○ Tini (F1)	1955	it was △ Loka (D13) † 1951, who cleared off this land a long time ago. During his lifetime he ceded his right to ○ Tini, who cut it 2 times in all.
108 ○ Tini (F1)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of ○ Asoso (E7) † 1953, ancestress who had farmed there for a long time.
109 ○ Félicia (G41)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of ○ Anna † (E22), her grandmother.
110 ○ Téodora (G20)	1956	occupied this land upon the death of her mother Dondo † 1954, who had herself occupied it upon the death of her mother Anna (E22).

/79 cont./

42 241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

241 423 425 562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

241 423 [613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

241 425 [423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

241 423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use.

/80/

241 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of
423 primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner)
425 creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an impre-
613 scriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1953 (E5), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction
571 A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another
425 village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of
423 fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality.
[162] This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

/80 cont./

621 613 [174] Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when their institutions were developing.

621 613 423 [643] The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there can be no competition among them for the possession of the real
[425] rights. But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Klémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 621 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector, the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones.
423 425 613 It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights. It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
226 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.

621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved
for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage
farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently
farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville,
are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju,
Awara Bakka, and Dipélü II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

[222] The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.

[313] The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pemba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the
Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners
farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The
interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato
brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past
century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the
customary law.

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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311 As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

[182]
[241] --The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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[489] Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184] 1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/82 cont./

423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [134] [311] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots in January, 1957

621 [241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

/83 cont./

621 613 --The Dikan *lo*, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
--A fragment of the Kotika *lo*
--A fragment of the Dju *lo*
--A fragment of the Lapé *lo*
--A fragment of the Papaïston *lo*
--A fragment of the Dipélu I *lo*

621 613 423 241 The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papaïston *lo* established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé *lo*). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

[643] The members of the other groups make their clearings on all the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan *lo*. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likataon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[101] This *finage* (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations:	(K)	Kotika	(D)	Dikan	(Dip)	Dipélu
	(Dju)	Dju	(P)	Papaïston	(L)	Lapé

1. *Finage*: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1 ○	Kamina (K2, E92) clearing cut by her husband	1956	lived in Boniville	4 years; last user Todo (K2, F68), in 1952
2 △	Grand Man Difu (D)	1953	--	2 years; used by the grand man in 1951
3 ○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	--	cleared by Béniti about 1915, cut by her 3 times in all
4 ○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	--	cut on old secondary forest
5 △	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	--	2 years; already cut by Todo in 1951 and 1953
6 ○	Lèya (K2, F99); clearing cut by her husband	1956	--	6 years; clearing cut by Kanayen (Kotika lo) † in 1950
7 ○	Lésina (K2, F69) clearing cut by her husband Manku (Dip. I)	1953	--	?

[Agodé bakka locality]

/84 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8 △	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9 ○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10 ○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11 ○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

[361] [166] [731] [554] Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts *de facto* authority.

This group tends to add to its initial *finage* the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan *io* (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/85 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 ○	Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 years; last user Adyuba (D) † mother of the grand man
13 ○	Alasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 years idem
14 ○	Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945 (?)	lives in Boniville	20 years (this clearing is not in Papaïston territory)
15 △	Bukuman (P1, F32), for his wife	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction in Boniville	20 to 25 years
16 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1954	id.	id.
17 ○	Alasani	1954	id.	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/85 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	○	Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	woman of Lapé lineage living in Boniville; has worked there as an exception with Bukuman's permission	id.
18a	○	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.
19	○	Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id. /86/
20	△	Bukuman, for his wife	1954	id.	id.
21	○	Pélui	1955	id.	id.
22	○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.

6:Hurault^{1}-123 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/86 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	○	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 to 25 years
24	○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	△	Baafu (L2, E58), for himself	1955	man of the Lapé lineage living in Boniville. Has worked there as an exception with Bangasé's permission	id.
26	○	Pélui	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Boniville)	id.
27	○	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

/86 cont./

621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).

423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings
13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex
Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo,
[614] whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.

/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine.

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for
[311] about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31	Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32	Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Apé lo)]

/87 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
33	Δ	Akwadé	1952	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
34	O	Awènkina (L1, D23); clearing cut by her husband	1949	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
35	O	Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	cut twice in all by Awènkina
36	O	Awènkina; clearing cut by her son	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 on old secondary forest
37	O	Chii (L1, D24); clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 by the same
38	O	Chii; clearing cut by her husband	1950	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
38a	O	Maju (E41), Chii's daughter	1956	id.	6 years, a part of No. 38 taken up again

[Lands of Loka Village (Lape' lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	○	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	△	Koniman (L1, E31) for himself	1953	id.	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé lo; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju lo, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju lo are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II lo.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in The Ingi Udu locality]

/88 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
41	○	Téodora (Dju, G40); clearing cut by her husband	1955	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	20 years
42	○	Kukusa (Dju, F40); cl. cut by her husband Bernardin	1953	id.	a very long time
43	○	Paana (Dju, G2), cut it herself (has no husband)	1955	id.	6 years /89/
44	○	Tini (Dju, F1); clearing cut by her husband	1954	id.	6 years (?); cut 3 times in all since 1920
45	○	Lènga (Dju, F36); clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	4 years
46	○ /Δ?/	Féni (Dju, G3), for his wife Abugu	1954	id.	7 years
47	○	Tini (Dju, F1); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id.	6 years (?)

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

/89 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
48	Tini; clearing cut by her husband	1956	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	3 years
48a	Sara (Dju, E27); cl. cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years (fraction of clearing 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41); clearing cut by her husband Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora; clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	2 years
64	Abo † (E8), for himself	1956	id.	2 years
76	Ata (F2); clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years
77	idem	1955	id.	3 years

Clearings 64, 76, and 77 appear to be enclaves a little within the Awara Bakka finage. Actually, from the very fashion

621 /89 cont./
613 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to find clear boundaries.
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[562]

These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

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Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bɛɛ). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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[128]

We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 ○	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62 ○	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63 ○	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65 ○	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66 ○	Kyéti; clearing cut by her husband Sosoman	1954	id. 1st fraction	2 years
67 ○	Lébimichi (Aw. B. 1, F27); clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
68 ○	Anèta (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her son-in-law Kéwénu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	4 years
69 ○	Agyasu (Aw.B.1, F38); clearing cut by her brother Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asiši vge.	4 years
70 ○	Emma (Aw.B.2); clearing cut by her son Akodo	?	id. 2nd fraction	4 years
71 ○	Irma (Aw.B.1, E37); clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1956	id. 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
72 ○	Emma; cl. cut by herself	1955	id. 2nd fraction	3 years
73 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
74 ○	Kilina (Aw.B.3, E71); cl. cut by her husband Amèmbě	1956	id. 4th fraction	4 years /92/
75 ○	Namu (Aw.B.1, E48); cl. cut by her husband Koniman	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
78 △	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F43); for his fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1st fraction	?
79 ○	Béma (Aw.B.3, E73); cl. cut by her husband Maïna	1956	id. 4th fraction	2 years

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[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/92 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E19)	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47); for himself	1952	1st fraction	?
82	△	Adam (Afi lineage, c7); for his wife Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	member of the Afi lineage living in Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1, E18); cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction, Asisi village	
84	○	Noémi (Aw. B.1, F51); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id. 1st fraction	2 years
85	○	Summa (Aw. B.3, F81); clearing cut by herself	1956	id. 3rd fraction	3 years
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F52); clearing cut by her son	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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/92 cont./

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87	○	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88	○	Titi; clearing cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89	○	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19); clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90	○	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

[562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 26 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka lo. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

/93 cont./

621 Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo, in the Tapo
613 locality. The fraction of the Dipélu II lo which has been settled
423 in Asisi for some 30 years and which remains subject to the
241 authority of the head of the lo living in Kormotibo, groups its
clearings in a zone which has been allotted to it in the Tapo
locality.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
91 ○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1954	member of the Dipélu II fraction established in Asisi	2 years
92 ○	Lawenchi	1951	id.	cleared off for the lst time
93 △	Aténi (G20), for himself	1953	id.	id. /94/
94 △	Aténi (G20), for himself	1956	id.	id.
95 ○	Kaala (G28); clearing cut by her husband Tamu	1954	id.	id.
96 ○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97 ○	Kiboya (G31); clearing cut by her husband Simon	1954	id.	3 years

[lands of the Asisi fraction of The Dipélu II 10]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
98 △	Kopo (G32), for himself	1954	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
99 ○	Tama (G29); clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99a	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1949	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
100 ○	Tyoko (G30); clearing cut by her husband Dodo	1954	id.	2 years
101 ○	Tama; clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 years ▼
102 ○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1953	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
103 ○	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1951	id.	3 years

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[578] Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate *finage*; that has to do with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate *finage*).

[562] Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /*sic*/.

[311] *Study of several clearings of Papaïston village.* The part of the Papaïston *finage* situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 ○	Efa (P1, D4)	1946	member of the Papaïston *lo*	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	*id.*	*id.*
113 ○	Oben (P1, E13)	1950	*id.*	*id.*

[Papaïston Village]

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/95 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114 ○	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115 ○	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

[562] These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

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/96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

128 Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

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[371]

--Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to settle every dispute;

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423 --The principle of matrilocal grouping is effectively ap-
613 plied in nearly all cases. The matrilineages have almost all
621 formed, according to this principle, separate finages, on which
their rights are well established; most of these lands appear to be
of old formation;

423 --The lineage fractions which have separated themselves
613 geographically from their original grouping have formed finages
621 over which their members exercise exclusive rights. For example,
571 out of the lands of the Dipélu II fraction settled in Asisi not a
single case is reported of use by members of the main fraction
of the lineage living in Kormotibo;

--The inhabitants of a village subject to one authority possess collective rights over the lands of that village and form a de facto community, even if they belong to different lineages. We have found two characteristic examples of this, Boniville and Asisi-Awara Bakka; by coming to live in a village and subjecting oneself to the authority of the head, one enters ipso facto into this community.

This custom is in contradiction with the principle of the exclusive rights of the lineage over the soil, but the contradiction is more apparent than real; it makes possible the integration, into a collectivity, of detached persons and small fractions incapable of forming a separate village.

The actual situation thus created is not at all permanent. If a lineage fraction wishes to separate itself either as a consequence of a disagreement or simply because its numbers have grown sufficiently, it always has the right to do so.

The fundamental principles of the basic rights of the Boni can thus be summarized thus:

"Rights over the soil are joint within the fraction of a lineage whose members live in the same village and are subject to the same authority; any scission of a lineage which has to do with the residence village entails a scission of rights over lands. The

/96 cont./

423 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricul-
613 tural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in
621 principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."

571 The study of finages gives us still more important information concerning the exercising of rights of use:

241 /97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal
423 process according to which the woman has her clearing made on
613 the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been
621 made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

182 Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure.
171 These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be
(177) made about the Oayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

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1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

Rucuyen SR12
Oyana

/97 cont./

R The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages
105 every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent
[361] center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R This state of things has been attributed by several authors
114 to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages
182 of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in
[136] formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

B The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that
114 these considerations, in spite of their undeniable interest, do not
769 constitute an explanation of general scope; for the Refugee Blacks,
182 the only social ties conceivable flow from ancestor worship; above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment
182 have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast
241 zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage
423 into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become
613 temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without ceasing because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

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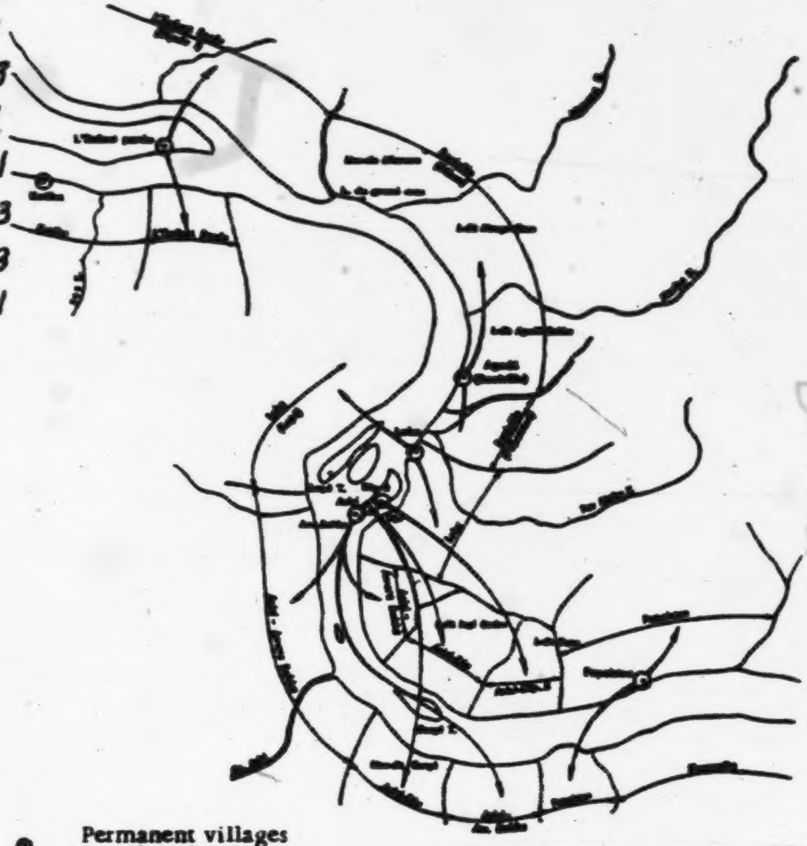
Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood of the Principal Boni Villages



⊙ Permanent villages
— Boundary lines

Scale:

/K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = floodable zone./

Fig. 16.

182 /99/
161 That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently
241 demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the
423 tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their
613 institutions.

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot
182 be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment
alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds
621 of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence
184 villages.

241 The farming habitations we are going to study more es-
621 pecially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini
361 and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons be-
162 longing to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages.
613 Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of
Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their
composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons.
Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging
principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region,
others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be com-
184 pared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming
621 villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the
[361] Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to
[162] understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./
241 under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maxi-
62 mum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages,
[184] they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kãpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 However, the principles of establishment and functioning
241 of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes
[182] and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among
[184] the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never
had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a
[613] right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his
lineage (bɛɛ) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone
[613] of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to
cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment
in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it
[361] happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after
ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

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Boni Farming Habitations South of the Confluence with the Inini

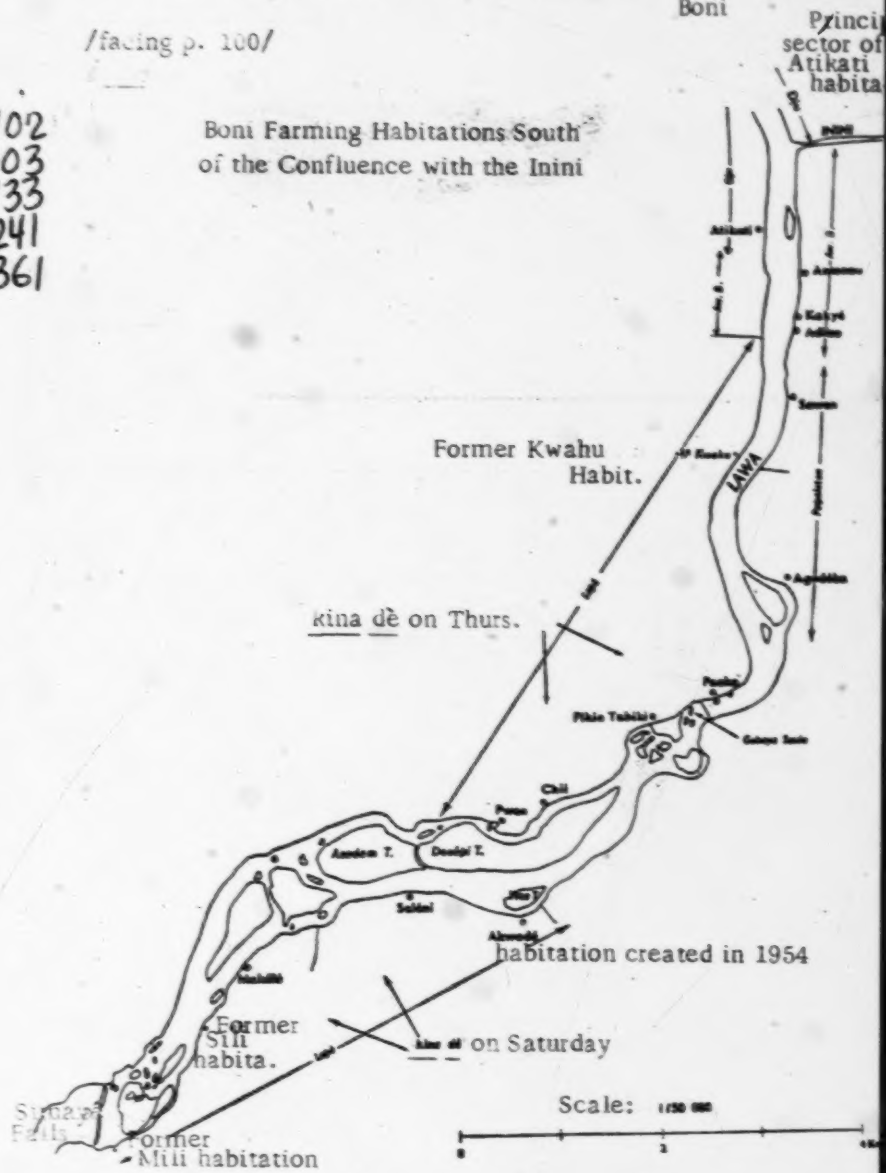
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Fig. 17.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Saléni, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

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504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the
land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso
given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee
Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of
the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization
of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont./
621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three
[613] groups of the Awara Bakka *lo* settled at the mouth of the Inini,
for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment
at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend
the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming
habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the
Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his
clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

361 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka *lo*
241 (Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyɛ̂)
613 in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka *lo* (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

621 To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
241 whose situations are very different:
592 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
423 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
[476] Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and
daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of
the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group
has *no right at all* over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever
separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/104 cont. /

621 2) Nearby, he set up the habitation of his sister Irma
592 married to Adiiso (Dju). This village is improperly called Adiiso,
241 but Adiiso has no right at all there. In case of breaking with his
[423] wife, he leaves the habitation.

3) Finally, Kakyê, an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, settled nearby with her daughters and son.

Structure and functioning of the Antonu habitation. This habitation comprised in January, 1957, disregarding children:

○ [△]	Antonu (Aw. B. 1, E47);	
○	Asakundu, his wife (L2, E55);	
○	Kapêêki (L2, F60)	Asakundu's daughters, married;
○	Angisa (L2, F61)	
△	Sindu (L2, F62), Asakundu's son;	
△	Maliki (L2, F63), Asakundu's son;	
○	Yundu, Kapêêki's daughter, married;	
△	Anato, Kapêêki's son;	
○	Agata, Akoni's daughter.	

The wives of Maliki and Sindu who do not have any personal habitation come there to work, but they are not to be considered as members of the group. They have no hut.

Likewise, the husbands of Kapêêki, Yundu, and Angisa
241 come to help temporarily at the time of the clearings.
621 Activity of the Antonu village in 1955-56:

		1956	1955
○	Asakundu	1 clearing with Antonu	1 clearing with Antonu
○	Kapêêki	1 clearing with Akuba her husband (who did not make any other clearing)	idem

/104 cont./

	1956	1955
241 621 ○ Angisa	1 clearing with her husband Ernest (who cut 2 other clearings in other sectors because he has 2 other wives)	1 clearing with Antonu
Δ Sindu	1 clearing for Amélia, his wife, 1 clearing for himself	*id.* (2 clearings)
Δ Anato	*en mission*; cut no clearing; his wife weeded a two-year-old clearing herself	1 clearing for his mother (had made in addition a /105/ clearing in Asisi for his wife on her family's lands)
Δ Maliki	same case	nothing for his mother, 1 clearing for his wife in another habitation

Study of the clearings of the Antonu habitation:

1) West Bank:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
[423] [613] 31 Δ	Antonu, for himself	1952 ?	member of the Awara Bakka *lo*, founder of the habitation	2 years (cut in 1950 for the 1st time on primary forest)

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
32 ○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	works there because her mother Asakundu is married to Antonu, but has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
34 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1952	Antonu's wife	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
35 ○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1948	like No. 32	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1945)
36 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu		like No. 34	cut for the 1st time on primary forest
37 △	Antonu, for himself	1948	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
38 △ /C/	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
39 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1951	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time /106/
40 ○	Asakundu	1955	like No. 34	4 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
	2) East Bank			
1 ○	Angisa	1955	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)
2 ○	Angisa	1956	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1954)
3 △	Sindu, for himself	1955	Asakundu's son; same observations as No. 32, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
4	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1952	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
5	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her son Maliki		like No. 34	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
6	△	Amatodja (L2, F 3), for himself		Asakundu's son; came to work there in 1953 only	
7	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband Madéko	1955	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
8	○	Noémi (Aw.B.1, F51); cl. cut by her uncle Antonu	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for 1st time
9	△	Antonu, for himself	1953		?

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
10 ○	Yundu; clearing cut by her brother Agata /listed as " ○Agata, Akoni's daughter," on p. 149 -- Tr./	1953	same observations as No. 32 (daughter of Kapééki and granddaughter of Asakundu	cut for the 1st time /107/
15 ○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1954	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
16 ○	Noémi; clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1951(?)	same observations as No. 8	cut for the 1st time
17 △	Abéni (Aw.B.1, F49)	1951	does not usually work there, but has rights over the land as a member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18 △	Antonu, for himself	1951	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time
19 △	Sindu	1951	cut for himself; same observations as No. 2	
20 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1950	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time
21 ○	Noémi; cl. cut by her husband Todo	1950 (?)	like No. 16	cut for the 1st time
22 ○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
41 ○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1948	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
42 ○	Kapééki; id.	1955	id.	id.

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
43 ○	Yundu; clearing cut by her husband Alémin	1955	same observations as No. 10	id. /108/
44 △	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
45 △	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
46 △	id.		id.	id.
50 ○	Nella (K1, D44); clearing cut by her husband Agonichi	1936 (?)	woman working in Atikati village; had made a clearing there before Antonu's installation, then abandoned (manioc ant)	id.
51 △	Samalobi † (Dikan lo)	1920 (?)	Samalobi, first occupant of the place, had ceded all his rights to Antonu	d. /misprint for "id."?--Tr./

/108 cont./

621 Structure of the Adiiso habitation. This habitation actually be-
592 longs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage
241 (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory
[423] sister she is.

[613] Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

[602] --Her husband Adiiso (Dju, F37);

[476] --Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asisi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission.	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési

/109/

/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/

	1956	1955
Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

/facing p. 108/

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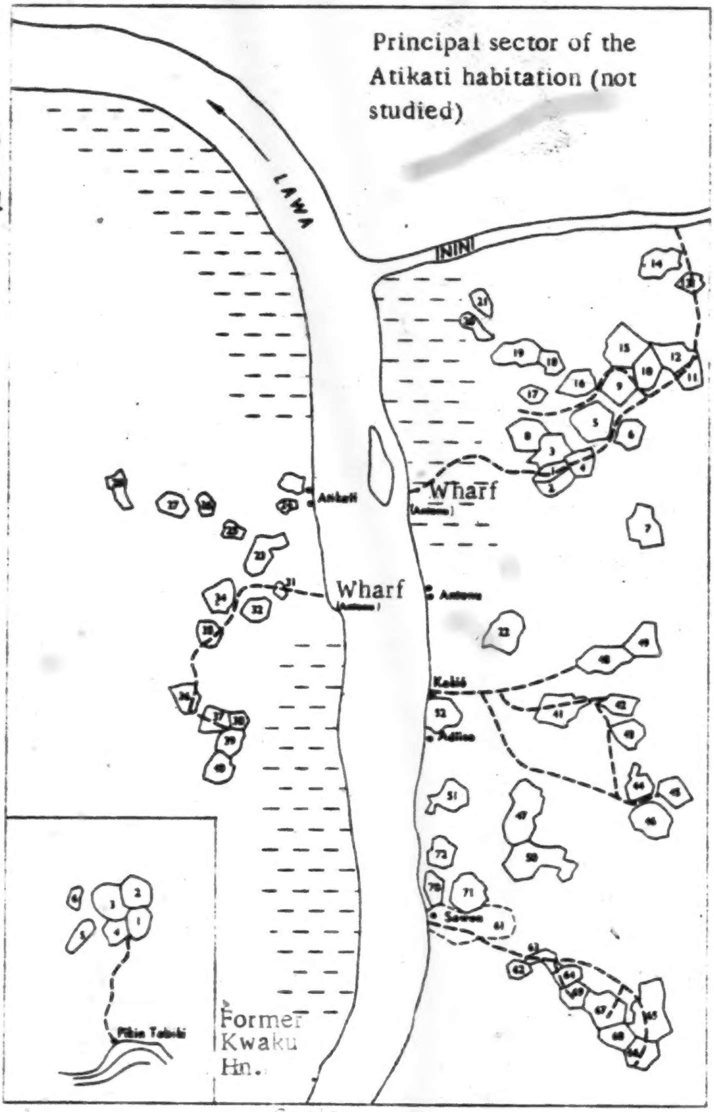
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini


Principal sector of the Atikati habitation (not studied)
LAWA
ININI
Wharf
Ankati
Wharf
Antonu
Kalió
Adlioo
Sawoo
Former Kwaku Hn.
Pikin Taboki

Scale: 1/20 000
After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956
• farming habitation
▨ floodable zone ○ clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

621 /1[illegible] cont./

592 Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed
241 by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E18), a widow for a long time and not re-
[589] married, working with her children.
[476]

Working with her are:

- --Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;
- --Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;
- --Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;
- --Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

241 Listing of several clearings of the Adiiso and Kakyé habitations.
592 These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with
621 those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands
423 all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.
[613]

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11 △	Bésu (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Asor[illegible]	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

[Adiiso and Kakyé habitations]

/110 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
14 △	Papakay, for himself	1953	Kakyé's son	id.
47 ○	Irma; clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1955	foundress of the Adiiso habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
48 ○	Amèntanu; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1953	Kakyé's daughter	cut for the 1st time /111/
49 ○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Bésu	1953	foundress of the Kakyé habitation	id.
52 ○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Papakay	1951	id.	cut one single time

/111 cont./

361 241 613

Habitation of the Dju Lo
in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 241 [613] [423] [476] Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622 Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

621 241 613 [622] The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju, E19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya } both without living children
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) }
Δ Lokó (Dju, F39)
Δ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

Δ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), daughter of Δ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423] Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

/111 cont./

621 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant
571 from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely
183 upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none
621 the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the
613 Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for ex-
423 ample, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaïston)
have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all
for either lineage.

[571] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

241
621
423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wilèlmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

[Atikati habitation (west bank)]

/112 cont./

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[6/3]

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
26 △	Sosoman (Dju, E14)	1951	Does not usually work there but has rights over the land as a member of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time in 1950, part taken up again in 1955
27 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her father Atikati	1955	Atikati's daughter; usually lives at the Sawen habitation; has no rights over the land	6 years; cut for the 1st time in 1949, partially taken up again in 1955
28	Adyidya; clearing cut by her husband Kwami (Djuka)	1949	woman of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time

361 /113/

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Habitations of the Papaïston lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

621 Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston lo).

241 Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.

613 [476] Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:

- His nieces Héléna (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);
- His nephew Aguundé (P1, F4).

Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:

- His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);
- His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).

Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

△ Toïna, Agodéba's wife;
/△/ Mangoto, Toïna's son;
Apuulobi.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.

Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

241
621 Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

/113 cont./

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	1956	1955
○ Puti	1 clearing cut by her husband Maïpa (Dip. I)	id.
△ Mangoto	1 clearing for himself (he cut another for his wife in Kormotibo)	nothing (was not yet settled there)
○ Apuulobi	nothing (had her clearing made in Papaïston)	1 clearing by her husband Aténi /114/

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Listing of the clearings of Sawen village.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 △	Sawen, for himself	1920 (?)	village founder	cut for the 1st time
62 △	Sawen, for himself	1955	village founder	cut for the 1st time
63 △	Sawen, for himself	1948	id.	id.
64 △	Sawen, for himself	1946 (?)	id.	id.
65 ○	Héléna; clearing cut by her husband	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Sawen's niece)	id.

/114 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66 ○	Héléna; clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	?
67 ○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1954	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
68 △	Aguundé, for his mother-in-law Populu	1954	man of the Papaïston lo making on his land the clearing intended for his mother-in-law	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
69 ○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1955	woman of the Papaïston lo	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
70 ○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	cut for the 1st time
71 ○	Emilia id.	1952	id.	id.
72 ○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	id.

/facing p. 114/

/-- a/

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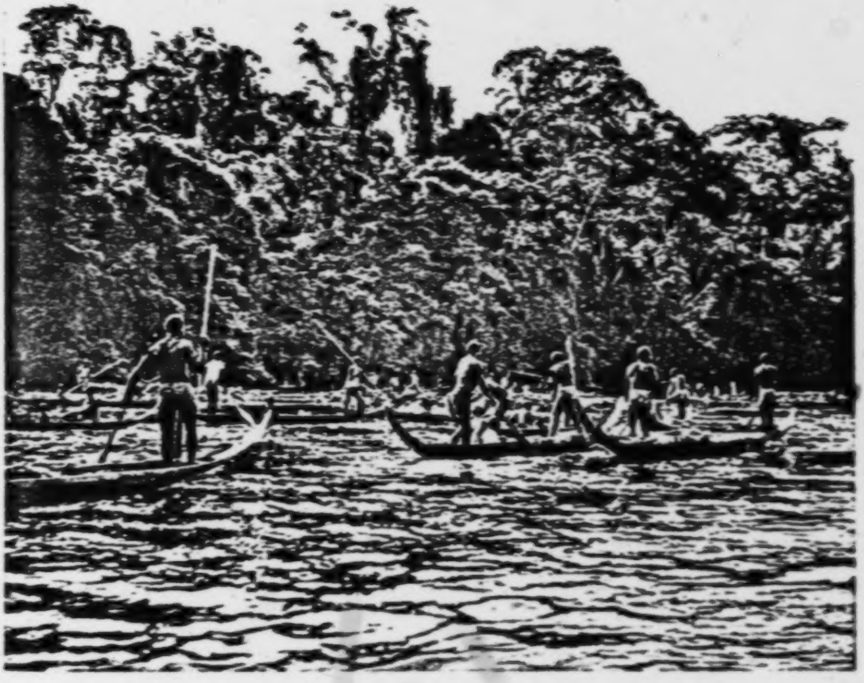

Fig. 19. Fishing à la nivrée.

/115/

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Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

[613] [423] These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[578] **Pwen habitations.** As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

[613] **Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).**

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage.
Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:
△ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
△ Fosé, his brother (L1, F33);
○ Mélita, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
○ Téké, Mélita's daughter (L1, F44)
○ Akomédi, Paako's daughter (L1, F34).

[183] The husbands of Mélita, Téké, Akomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

/115 cont./

621 183 The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

241 621 Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
○ Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
○ Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband. for her husband Baïna is en mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Akomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Asisi for his other wife)	

241 621 423 [613] Listing of several clearings of the Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé lo).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○ Akomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	○ Akomédi id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

[Same habitation (PikinTabiK.)]

/116 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3 ○	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4 ○	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5 ○	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6 ○	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality, very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land: Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village). Several habitations side by side:

/116 cont./

621 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in
241 1953; /117/

613 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her
423 children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina, ○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kotoïda (Afi lineage) † ;

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju, F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation grouping Kotoïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkina, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïston), settled on Dipélu II lo lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1, D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabjki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asisi village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), with Lènga ○ (Dju, F36) and ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

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Functioning of the Farming Habitations

Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

621 241 591 /117 cont./

Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

621 241 591 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

178 They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

361 241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

361 241 166 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
△ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

[226]

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

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/facing p. 119/

Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage into Sectors and Farming Habitations
October 1957

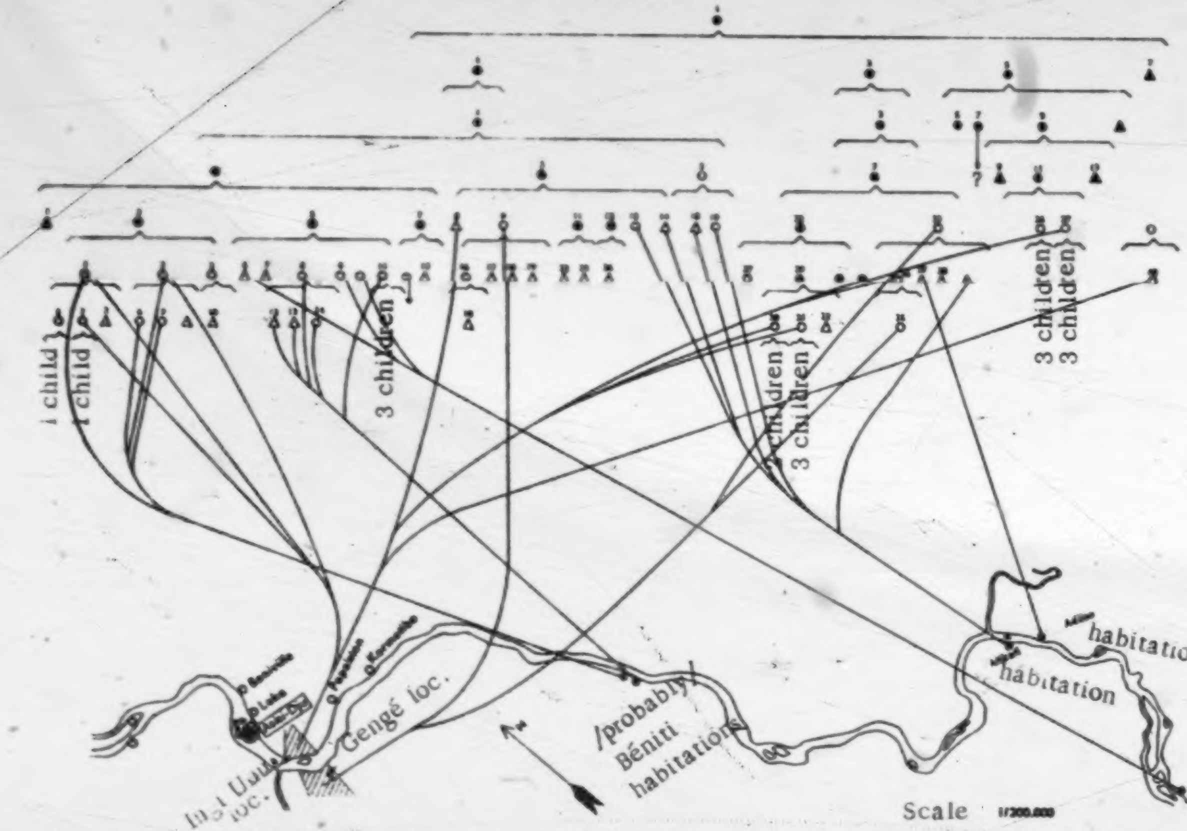
1 child
1 child
3 children
3 children
3 children
3 children
3 children
3 children
Gengé loc.
/probably Béniti habitation/
habitation
habitation
habitation
Scale 1/200.000

Fig. 20.

This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions.

/119 cont./

361 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: consider-
241 ing the sparseness of the population, one can either make new
166 clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting
land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

--The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since
[136] about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated
[613] near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagree-
241 ment among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina
166 and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until
578 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku
locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baïkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

[768] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations
241 is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man
166 grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation
in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

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CHAPTER VI

FAMILY CUSTOM

17
105 The family custom of the Refugee Blacks presents more unity than their beliefs. Contrary to the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti, among whom the influences of Dahomey and the Yoruba country have dominated, the Refugee Blacks of Guiana have borrowed the essential part of their family custom from the Agni-Ashanti culture area. One finds again especially such characteristic traits as the prohibition of inheritance of widows, customs relating to birth, isolation of the dead in cemeteries away from habitations.

But on several essential points:

- The marriage system.

--Institutions relative to death and mourning, and the central place given to them in the whole body of customary institutions.

The Refugee Blacks have separated themselves cleanly from the conceptions of their ancestors, and the conceptions they have elaborated may be in large measure considered as an original creation.

Birth

843

Beliefs. As soon as a woman is pregnant, her husband is subject to special obligations. He may not use a shovel nor drive nails. These operations which, among the Refugee Blacks, have as their primary purpose the digging of graves and the making of coffins, might be supposed to make the child die. Neither he nor his wife may cut their hair; he is subject to food interdictions, especially the maïpouri (tapir).

/121 cont./

843 [827] Sexual relations continue during the whole pregnancy, for they are reputed to be indispensable for the formation of the mind of the child, which is thought to come from the father; also, for a man whose wife is pregnant there can be no question of abandoning her nor even of leaving for a long trip without the permission of the head of her lineage.

843 787 *Forecasting of the birth.* Divinatory rituals are carried out from the first months of pregnancy to forecast whether the childbirth will be easy or not. For that one goes to an old man who "knows" one of these remedies. There are several: one consists in making a small hole in the center of a cross outlined on the ground, pouring into it a decoction of magic herbs kept secret, and putting an egg into it. The remedy-master then says: "If the childbirth is to be easy, the egg must be crushed as soon as my foot bears down /122/ on it." They state that sometimes the egg resists crushing: from this they deduce that the delivery will be difficult.

844 [789] [845] When the time for delivery arrives, concern is centered on the danger of maleficent human entities, *ɔgi sani*, which try to become incarnate in the child. The woman is shut up in the house, all of its exits are blocked off, and *ɔbiaman* are called to perform rites of protection all around the house. If delivery is difficult, that is attributed to the fact that one of these entities succeeded in getting into the house in spite of the precautions taken.

846 602 The *ɔbiaman* are called to "wash" the woman with the help of appropriate remedies.. Only in serious cases are men allowed to enter the house. As a general rule, during the first eight days only women related to the mother may enter. (Care is even taken as far as possible to get as midwife (*mena*) an old woman related to the mother.)

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T..., known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [515] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. [465] He made an agreement for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs,

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then [769] [778] [782] the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to protect it.

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of ○ Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/122 cont./

846 Interruption of conjugal relations after the birth. For three
834 months after delivery the mother must stay away from men and
856 even avoid touching them. Conjugal relations must be interrupted until the child begins to walk alone (eleven to 14 months). However, it is tolerated (but disapprovingly) that they be interrupted only for the time until the child begins to drag himself
[842] on his knees /123/ (eight months). They cite the example of Baïna's wife who has puny children after pregnancies at too short intervals.

846 Actually, the interruption of conjugal relations tends to
834 be reduced more and more, the women having condensed milk
862 available and tending to reduce the duration of breast feeding.

178 Each woman acts as she wishes in this respect; the husband
593 has no power to restrain her.

The Name

551
553 Existence of several independent names. Each Boni has two names, the gaã nɛm or big name, given by the father, and the pikin nɛm or little name, given by the mother.

These two names are given in totally independent fashion. Generally the pikin nɛm is given first; in former days they used to wait until the child was six to eight months old; nowadays it is given at the end of a few weeks. The head of the lineage does not intervene either in the choice or the giving of the name.

As a matter of fact, nearly three-quarters of the Boni are designated by one single name, either because the father and mother agreed to give the same name or because one of the two names fell into disuse.

To these two principal names may be added any number of names and cognomens given by the grandparents and later by friends or spouse; often one of the names ends by being given

551 [553] /123 cont./
and supplanting the others, but in numerous cases the names are used concurrently; in general an individual is designated among his maternal relatives by his pikin nɛm, while the people of other villages designate him by his gaã nɛm or by a cognomen. It has happened to us many a time in the course of the same conversation to hear the same individual designated by two or three different names.

[125] [128] It goes without saying that this custom makes any census of the Refugee Blacks impracticable, for as long as one does not know individually the members of a lineage and their genealogy, it is impossible to understand anything.

Nevertheless, one must not see in this a defense reaction with respect to the European administration. The Refugee Blacks find it completely normal to have several names at a time, for they do not have the notion of the identity of a name with a person.

Thus one of our boatmen was Fintiman to his maternal relatives, Gobiyo to his father and part of his friends, Loamba to his paternal grandfather, and Nakiyu to his first wife.

551 553 Choice of names. Names are highly varied and their choice does not follow any fixed rule; it is in the exclusive domain of fancy.

A large number are constituted of simple onomatopoeia: Tyutyu, Dada, Dodo, Dudu, etc. (which may be applied indiscriminately to man or woman). Dodo's mother explained to us the reason for her choice: dodo was the refrain of an air which often sang in her head while she was pregnant. /124/

551 177 Again are pointed out:

--More or less deformed European names: Afayèl (Rafaèl), Modèl, Pasensi (Patience), Félisi (Félix), Sophie, Toïna (Antonia). Certain names are deformed European proper names; for example: Sota for Chotard (name of an official in Saint-Laurent);

/124 cont./

551 --African names (Musa, Kodyo, Kofi, Akuba, Afiba, etc.),
[177] most of them apparently coming from the west coast of Africa.

--Some Indian names: Omiikan, Païké. This last name
[553] had been given to a young man of Asisi by his great-uncle in memory of an Indian chief with whom he was very closely connected;

--Names of plants, animals, or ordinary objects, either in *taki-taki* or in French:

Ex.: Kapachi (armadillo), Aguti (*agouti*, a rodent), Babun (red monkey), Kwata (South American spider monkey), Chii (seed), Maisi (maize), Tutu (bamboo), Sépina (*épinards*, "spinach"), Polimichi (small portable stove), Balansi (balance), Tambour /drum/, Kédé (chest, box), Mandolina (mandolin), Kokoti (tattooing), Guunkaala (blue bead), Klarinèt (clarinet), Alapu (arrow), Bisiklĕt /bicycle/, Tomobil /automobile/, etc.;

[177] --European words whose meaning is more or less understood but which sound agreeable to the ears of the Refugee Blacks:

Ex.: Manifèst, Komisèr (commissioner), Nètwayé (*nettoyé*, "cleaned"), Machinn (machine);

551 --Kinship terms or terms of social relations, associated
601 often with a qualifier:

Ex.: Maman (mother), Baakamaman (black mother), May (mother-in-law), Pikin pay (little son-in-law), Pikin baala (little comrade), Bachi (master), Michi (young lady), Baakamichi (young black lady), etc.

551 --Expressions relating generally to the child's characteristics during its first months:

Ex.: Kundu mofu (little mouth), Kundu uman (short woman), Alébiédé (red head), Alobikyé (he likes to cry), Alobilafu (he likes to laugh), Koouman (cold woman), Amoyuman (pretty woman), Dansiuman (dancer), Hafukii (half dead), etc.;

551 --Names alluding to a virtue, but this is pure fancy;
577 we must not believe that they attempt in that way to make it
enter the child. One sees Séyéuman (serious woman), Abété

/124 cont./

551 [577] (the best), Poyman (strong man), etc.; along the same line names are often given such as Goutu uman (golden woman);

551 522 --Often, finally, the name is the contraction of a short sentence expressing a joke or a ridiculous association of ideas:

Agimianèm (give me a name), Nâfiimoo (it is no longer for you), Afumidichi (that one is for me), Sanidialobi (thing he likes), Agoabuchi (he goes into the bush), etc.

Woochia is the contraction of sa u ɔ si ya? (what shall we see there?), expressing the surprise of a woman who was seeing herself pregnant for the first time after 15 years of sterile marriage.

/125/ In this kind of name, in several cases it is a question of a joke with respect to the child, for which he will have to suffer all his life.

Ex.: Amoyanéti (he is pretty in the night), name given to a child who was very ugly.

Poété (convict) is the pikin nɛm of B..., a man about 42 years old in 1957; he never clearly understood why his mother had given him that name which he could not get rid of, his comrades taking malicious pleasure in calling him by his pikin nɛm.

This bad joke had so much success that it was put into circulation two more times: in Boni country there are now two Poété and a /female/ Poétéuman!

551 553 [522] This example, associated with many others, shows the casualness with which the Refugee Blacks choose their children's names. We have been present several times at discussions concerning the choice of these names; they proceed in an atmosphere of crude farce. B..., with whom we have just been concerned, who had had to suffer from the name his mother had given him, called one of his nephews Canada because it is the country in which are manufactured Evinrude motors which he admired very much.

/125 cont./

553 Transmission of names. It seems that in former times children
613 were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory
[178] uncles in the father's lineage. This custom is still clearly
observable, but its practice is not general. In fact, out of about
[162] 670 persons counted in the villages on the French bank, including
about 250 children younger than 14 years, there are only 64,
or less than 25 per cent who bear the name of an adult living
or dead. These 64 cases are divided thus:

	Mother's Lineage	Father's Lineage	Other Lineages
Name taken from among the child's classificatory brothers and sisters.	0	3	
Name taken from among the child's classificatory uncles and aunts.	3	37	11
Name taken from among the child's "grandfathers" and "grandmothers."	2	8	

Of these 64 names, 44 /sic/ are taken from the father's lineage, only five from the mother's.

[551] This table is only good for a simple indication. In order
to go farther it would have been necessary to study separately
the name given by the father and that given by the mother,
which we could not do (let us recall that 75 per cent of the
individuals are designated by a single name; either the father
and mother agreed on the same name, or one of the two names
fell into disuse after the child's early years.

/126/

553 Let us remember simply that there is a clear tendency to choose the name from the paternal relatives of the child (1).

[171] 1. It is a general rule among the populations of Black Africa from whom the Refugee Blacks borrowed their main cultural traits, the patrilineal Fon and Yoruba as well as the matrilineal and patrilocal Agni and Ashanti.
[178] The persistence of this custom among the Refugee Blacks tends to strengthen the patrilineal and patrilocal tendencies which were persisting among them at the time when their institutions were developing.

551 Apparently they avoid giving the name of a very old person or one recently deceased.

553 In this transmission of the name there does not seem to be anything other than a mark of affection toward a relative. No bond is created between the child and the adult whose name he bears. Obviously there is nothing in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks which requires the perpetuation of names and their transmission from the dead to the living.

[613] When they wish to give one of their children the name of a person of another lineage, they must ask permission of this person, who does not necessarily grant it (he may fear that his name might thus be borne later by a thief or a ne'er-do-well).

If he does give his permission it does not, strictly speaking, involve any payment, but he may be offered a small gift.

[613] There is no need of any authorization to take a name borne by a person of the lineage of the child's mother or father.

/126 cont./

551 The only case in which custom governs the choice of
553 name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agosu.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

[177]

2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429
604 Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is
[593] placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by
[584] preference about matters of small importance). For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned.

429 It is to the mother that people will come to complain
593 about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides
604 to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni,
[836] 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

/126 cont./

429 It is necessary to distinguish this principal guardianship,
604 which is imprescriptible, from the secondary guardianship
delegated by the uncles to the man or woman charged with bringing up the child. /127/

429 Designation of the guardian. When a child reaches five or six
593 years, the mother and the uncles decide who will be charged
604 with his education and will become his guardian. The thought
[858] of the Refugee Blacks is that a child is much better educated
if he is isolated and placed directly under the responsibility of an adult.

429 In order to decide who will bring up the child, they do
593 not have a general meeting of the lineage. Everything is arranged
604 among the mother and her brothers proper, the maternal grand-
603 mother, and the great-grandmother if she is still living. The
child's classificatory uncles are consulted only if there are no uncles in the ordinary sense. Grandmothers have a preponderant influence in this decision as they do in all that concerns the child during his early years. The uncles' influence increases as the child advances in age.

429 There is no precise rule for the devolution of this guardianship, and nobody can take advantage of a right over the child.

[604] The guardian, male or female, carries out the responsibility of the education, but he can make no decision without asking the opinion of the uncles, whose decision is final. The guardianship can always be withdrawn.

This guardianship is exercised by one single person, man or woman.

429 It is very often the mother. In a large number of cases
593 the mother raises her children, boys and girls, alone, with the
cooperation of her husband, who often is not the father. Actually the husband has no rights over them. Whether the children

/127 cont./

429 are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining
593 his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection
[586] with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grand-
603 mother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

[604] If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if
[593] she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten
603 children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren.
888 The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuluba († 1957), after having
[763] had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and
grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she
[165] died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education,
593 he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

/128 cont./

593 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is
152 the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a
429 matrilineal system when he is separated from his children.
Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe
in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks.
For example Baïna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitter-
ness: "I have had eight children, all living, and I have been
given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No
Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six
children he has had in the course of his life by three or four
[464] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible
for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks
and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search
[163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Baïna to tell the
basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he
would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children
(born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective
reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the
same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a
152 rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in
[601] their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in
both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest
429 of ease, especially within the lineage.

[163] For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957,
who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△	Alibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△	Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Béniti (Dju, E5);
○	Aguba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△	A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papaïston);

593 /128 cont./

429

○ S...	1947	raised by Kulina, Eliana's sister by the same mother (Dju, E9);
○ S...	1947	raised by her mother

and three young children raised by their mother.

[163] One sees unusual situations like that of Mimi (Boniville, Kotika), who gave her only child to her sister to raise and is bringing up another child in its place.

[163] In 1957, Téké (L1, F44, Loka village), who had seven living children, was not bringing up any of them.

△ C...	1945	raised by Mélita, Téké's mother (L1, E32);
△ A...	1947	raised by Akomédi (L1, F34), Téké's classificatory sister;
△ M...	1950	raised by Mélita;
△ C...	1952	raised by his father Baïna (Dip. II);
○ K...	1953	raised by △ Mato (Aw.B.1), her father Baïna's father;
○ F...	1956	raised by Mélita. /129/

Baïna, whom we have known for a long time, was incapable of giving the least explanation for his wife's strange behavior. Besides, he had given up a long time ago understanding the psychology of Boni women.

On the other hand, a certain number of women obstinately refuse to be separated from their children, deciding to raise [163] them all, girls and boys, by their own means. This was the case for example with Magdaléna (Kormotibo), a woman of intractable character, who raised her eight children herself at [828] the cost of the worst difficulties. In such a case, they say of the mother that she is a selfish woman and that she has a bad character, but there is no question of taking a child away from her by force. Nobody would risk that, no more her brothers or uncles than the head of the lineage. Only her mother could do it, and the women who behave thus have generally lost their mothers.

/129 cont./

429
602
The conditions under which children are brought up throw a strong light on the thought of the Refugee Blacks relative to kinship and are worth a special study.

[125] In the course of an investigation carried on from October to December, 1957, we were able to record with precision under what conditions had been raised 311 persons distributed thus:

Male sex	born before 1936 (education finished). . . .	73
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process) (1)	88
Female sex	born before 1936 (education finished) . . .	72
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process)	78
	Total	311

---

1. Study of the case of children born after 1949 was of no interest because the definite assignment of their guardianship was not yet made at the end of the year 1957.

429
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(129 cont.)

Raised by:	Male Sex			Female Sex		
	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average
Mother . . . . Maternal grandmother	together 50%	42% 13% 55%	52.5%	together 69%	56% 12% 68%	68.5%
A woman of the maternal lineage . . .	8%	12%	10%	13%	15%	14%
A man of the maternal lineage . . .	9%	4%	6.5%	2%	3%	2.5%
Father	27%	18%	22.5%	13%	6%	9.5%
Father's mother . . .	2%	3%	2.5%	0%	3%	1.5%
A person of the paternal lineage . .	1%	3%	2%	1%	3%	2%
An outsider to both lineages	2%	4%	3%	1%	3%	2%

/130/

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Raised by

Table I.- Men born before 1936

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
IIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIIII	III	IIIIIII	IIIIIIII	IIIIIIII▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮[1]	II	I	II
41/88 47 %	3/88 3 %	7/88 8 %	8/88 9 %	24/88 27 %	2/88 2 %	1/88 1 %	2/88 2 %

together 50%(2)

Table II. -Boys born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
IIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIIIIII III	IIIIIIIIII	IIIIIIIII	III	IIIIIIIIIIIII	II	II	III
31/73 42 %	10/73 13 %	9/73 12 %	3/73 4 %	13/73 18 %	2/73 3 %	2/73 3%	3/73 4 %

Table III. - Women born before 1936

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
IIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIIIIIIII I	IIIIIIII	IIIIIIIIII	II	III▮▮▮IIIII		I	I
46/78 59 %	8/78 10 %	10/78 13 %	2/77 2 %	10/78 13 %	0	1/78 1 %	1/78 1 %

together 69%(2)

Table IV. - Girls born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
IIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIIIIIIII IIIIIIIIII	IIIIIIIII	IIIIIIIIIII	II	IIIII	II	II	II
40/72 56 %	9/72 13 %	11/72 15 %	2/72 3 %	4/72 6 %	2/72 3 %	2/72 3 %	2/72 3 %

(1) The symbol ▮ represents individuals who, raised outside their lineage, did not come back to it when their education was finished.

(591) (2) Since the mother and grandmother live together most often, informants may confuse them when it is a question of persons whose education has been finished for a long time.

/131/

429 Recapitulation:

858 70% of the boys
613 85% of the girls are raised in the mother's lineage

27% of the boys
13% of the girls are raised in the father's lineage

3% of the boys
2% of the girls are raised by outsiders to both lineages.

429
858 It is important, moreover, to emphasize in what proportion
562 the children are brought up by women or men:

67% of the boys
86% of the girls are raised by women

33% of the boys
12% of the girls are raised by men.

429
562 This preponderant role of women in the education of the children is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure
571 of the Refugee Blacks. In fact, women consider that the children belong to them, and if they give some to men to bring up, it is
(171) only as many as they wish to. This conception which is found to be widespread among the Blacks of America, in the West Indies as in Guiana, explains, much more than the frequency of divorces, the impossibility for them to make up patrilineages in the absence of coercion exerted upon the women.

429 Several important pieces of information may still be drawn from these tables:

/131 cont./ .

429 178 1) They show the continuity and vitality of the custom of the Refugee Blacks. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc. is noticeably constant from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Blacks.

429 613 591 2) The fact that part of the children are raised outside of their own lineage has few consequences for the unity of the group; for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 88 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to it; only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 78 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

868 462 Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessitate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /132/ a Refugee Black must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

--Know more than 200 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

--Be capable of constructing boats of at least 10 kegs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

--Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

--Learn how to handle boats on the river and the techniques of transport boating.

/132 cont./

868 [501] To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable, has been added for the past several years substantial knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

86 The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is surely effective; their children are excessively turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

429 513 The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along whenever he moves. However, by concern for propriety, the woman guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

648 871 156 This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to put their children in school (French school of Maripasoula, Surinam school of Kotika). Without wishing to tackle here this sad problem to its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and dispensed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

/132 cont./

648 871 156 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own 868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 462 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 86 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 461 434 [291] The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsibility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money, and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/133 cont./

866 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the
461 money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all
434 his own needs.

For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14
883 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000
465 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bossman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this
868 money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for
the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own
needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand
until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five
or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is
561 in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness
[153] of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee
Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do
[582] anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they
[178] become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the
present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18
years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for
the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 The person charged with the education of a girl exercises
the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes
[582] her to marry, and by giving her the pāŋgi, married women's
garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is
[583] to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of
the girl.

/134 cont./

429 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had
561 remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the
[861] right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his
[582] powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished,
he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened
before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he
884 helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest
576 respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that
601 person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation,
"My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought
him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say,
"My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My
[128] grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion
makes research on family life risky as long as one does not
[114] possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors
[593] into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks
the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the
contrary the exception.

/134 cont./

429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 613 152 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not [601] idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

114 562 593 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with regard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M..., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

/135 cont./

593 The same year, G..., man of about 50, particularly
serious and hard-working, had saved up enough to buy an outboard motor; his mother, aged near 75 years, advised him
absolutely not to make this purchase, claiming that he would be
the object of jealousy and was risking being the victim of evil
[765] spells; he gave up the project. He did not dare carry it out until
1957 after the mourning for his mother (dead in 1955) had been
lifted.

To let one's mother be in need is considered a shame; if a mother has several sons, they divide up the purchases to be made for her benefit; each year one of them will cut the clearing intended for the mother; in exchange she will furnish couac and vegetables as long as her strength will allow her to work.

591 Ordinarily each of the sons, when he becomes 20 or 25 years old, builds himself in his village a house in which he lives alone. But it often happens that a man who has reached adulthood continues to live in his mother's house; for example, in 1952 in Loka village, Ayaubédé, about 40 years of age, was living with his mother Chii.

593 As for the authority of the mother over her daughters, it is
[582] still much more strict and lasts all her life. The daughter may
not marry without the authorization of her mother or of her
[591] female guardian if she is not brought up by her mother. The
married daughter has the use of a house that her husband built
for her, but this house is situated near that of her mother. Since
household life is intermittent and reduced to its simplest expression, she remains under the domination of her mother until
the latter's death. Especially, she cannot travel without her permission.

593 In former times the authority of mothers over daughters
178 was tyrannical; they say that one might see an octogenarian mother
requisition an old man's arm to strike her sexagenarian daughter
who had disobeyed her. But nowadays this authority is battered
[579] down by the development of individualism. From this results a
growing dissoluteness in the girls and an increasing instability of
unions.

/135 cont./

593 The nature of the relations with the mother is shown by
428 the custom of inheritance. /136/ If a man dies while his mother is still living, his belongings return to her. She may keep them or divide them among the members of the lineage.

593 Role of the father. The father has no power over the children, but in general he is respected by them and his sons make no important decision without asking for his opinion.

In the very frequent case where the guardianship of the children is entrusted to the mother, the father exercises a *de facto* authority as long as the family group lasts. But in case of its break-up he loses any right over the children.

In general the father loves his children very much, but in the way Europeans love their nephews, he avoids taking a hand too closely in their education, which is the responsibility of the uncles, who might invite him not to busy himself with family affairs.

593 But if the father has received the guardianship of one or
429 several children, the situation is completely different. If the
591 family group breaks up, he takes them along with him. Besides, as a general rule, even if he gets along well with his wife, he settles in his own village the children whose guardianship has been entrusted to him, close to his maternal family; henceforth it is he who will provide entirely not only for their maintenance but for their food; except for periods when the husband spends some time with them near his wife, the latter no longer has to feed them.

593 If the father has received the guardianship of a child, he
429 can in turn delegate it under his responsibility to someone of his lineage. We have noted several examples of this practice. For example Afoondo (Aw.B.1, F56), about 23 years old in 1957, had been entrusted to his father Koniman (Lapé), who had himself turned him over to his own mother Awènkina.

/136 cont./

593 The fact that some children are under the guardianship
429 of their father changes nothing about their position with respect
769 to ancestor worship and does not entail any payment or compen-
591 sation whatever on the part of the father. When the child has
grown up he will be able to come back to live in his maternal
kin group (which he does most often) or stay in his father's
village. On this point there is no precise customary obligation.

593 The father plays an important role with respect to the
884 children when they reach manhood; he procures their ɔbia for
them and transmits the knowledge and magical powers which he
himself received from his father.

429 Inheritance of guardianship. At the death of the guardian, his
428 office is bequeathed in the same way as his goods and according
to the same principle of dispersion of the inheritance. If he
was raising several children, the guardianship of each one will
be bequeathed individually.

For example Béniti († 1944) was raising ○K... 1944, daughter of her daughter Baïkom, and ○W... 1942, daughter of her son Fintiman and a woman of Papaïston village. She bequeathed the first to her daughter Kulina, the second to her daughter Baïkom settled in Loka village. W... thus found herself taken to a village which was neither that of her maternal nor her paternal relatives. Such cases are not rare. The child's uncles, who in principle could take back the guardianship, never seem to oppose, in practice, its being bequeathed. /137/

The spiritual power kept by the guardian over his ward after he becomes adult is bequeathed in the same manner. Thus, in the preceding example, Béniti († 1955) /sic/ bequeathed the spiritual tutelage she was keeping over each one of her adult sons and daughters whom she had raised herself, in part to outsiders to her lineage.

/137 cont./

429 428 She bequeathed thus her guardianship over Fintiman (46 years) to the grand man
over Klémenti (43 years) to Samalobi, the grand man's brother
over O Kulina (38 years) to Samalobi
over O Eliana (40 years) to the grand man.

But she bequeathed nothing concerning her last two children, O Baïkom (35 years) and O Maria (28) respectively brought up by △ Malobi, Béniti's husband, and by O Aliki, an old woman of the Dju lineage. It will behoove these two persons to bequeath, at their death, the spiritual tutelage over the girls they have raised.

Marriage

581 It is for lack of a more appropriate word that we use the word "marriage" with respect to the Refugee Blacks; the word concubinage is unpleasant to use; nevertheless it fits better what the union of a man and woman represents in the thought of the Refugee Blacks as in their social life.

In the organization we have just described no stable and permanent tie between a man and woman is implied.

831 Actually the Refugee Blacks, with rare exceptions, appear to be incapable of associating a strong and lasting emotional tie with sexual union. They are unstable in this respect, always in search of new adventures and not settling on any one. Their unions are more inspired by material concern (getting the

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concern- [684] ing adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife.

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful. [586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. It does not directly involve the relatives of the [765] spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience [613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

582 613 614 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks employ the word bɛɛ (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/138 cont./

613 614 --The Lapé lineage is divided into two groups from the genealogical point of view, but marriage between these two fractions remains prohibited. The law of exogamy is rigorously respected within this group;

--The Kotika lineage, which tends by forgetfulness of the genealogy to split into three fractions, tolerates union between members of different fractions; in 1958 there were seven cases of this. On the contrary, union is not allowed between members of the same fraction;

--The Dipélu I lineage, whose genealogy is completely known, does not allow marriage between its members, although for several generations it has been cut into two distinct social units, L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages, entirely separated geographically and each possessing its own head;

--It is the same for Dipélu II, but marriage is permitted between Dipélu I and Dipélu II;

--The Papaïston lineage allows the possibility of union between the principal fraction and the small Papaïston 2 fraction. But there is no marriage between members of the principal fraction;

613 614 588 --The Awara Bakka lineage on the contrary tolerates unions not only between the members of its three fractions but also recently within the principal fraction:

○Abenkina (Aw.B.1, F21) and △Boofo (Aw.B.1, E31)
○Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30) and △Pitipiti (Aw.B.1, F3).

This situation is an object of scandal to the other groups, and it does not seem that we are present here at the beginning of a general transformation.

613 614 It is to be noted that the possibility of marriage is allowed between the members of groups presumed to be of the same origin but separated for a long time, like Dipélu I and Dipélu II.

/138 cont./

613
614 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is maintained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weakens. /139/

[784] This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared.

[789]
[784]
[761] In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that she had been struck down by the *kunu* for having married her classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives).

684
688
784 *Pikadu*. The offense against exogamy, *pikadu* (1), incest in the broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the *kunu* on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing *kunu*, *it does not create new ones*. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni.

[114]
[761] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the *kunu* brought to bear for a long time by the *yɔrka* of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage.

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese *pecado*, sin.

/139 cont./

684 Committing pikadu is one of the most serious offenses that
688 a Refugee Black can commit; of course, as in the rest of the
moral prescriptions, no abstract principle is called on: the
elders teach the children from their earliest years: "If you com-
[613] mit pikadu, you will fall ill or die." The head of the lineage
inflicts severe punishments on the guilty people to boot: for
the man, to make a large number of planks with an adze; for
the woman, to prepare and winnow as preparation for the next
brɔko dɛ several touques /cans/ of rice, a long and tedious job.

588 However, if in spite of insults and blows a man and
woman of the same bɛɛ absolutely insist on marrying, people
end up, for the sake of peace and quiet, by accepting the ac-
[769] complished fact. They go to the fraga tiki to make an offering
[778] of tafia to the ancestors to ask them to forgive the offense
[782] committed. No reprobation extends to the children born of
this union.

613 In the Awara Bakka lineage, which has practically re-
588 jected the law of exogamy, the principle of a sanction remains
[684] and there is a pretense of chasing the guilty ones across the
village.

Not being able to use coercion and not having the right to expel a member of the lineage, captain and council can exert no material sanction.

613 The same notion of pikadu is attached to unions between
684 persons of the same patrilineage, although these patrilineages
have no effective organization and exist only by the transmission
of the fundamental interdiction, bwasi kina.

619] Before concluding an official or even clandestine union,
the man and woman make sure that they do not have the same
bwasi kina and in such a case give up their project; that, even
if they are from different tribes, for example a Boni woman
and a Saramaka.

/140/

684 This prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does
688 not entail any social sanctions; those concerned are convinced
784 that in such a case a suprahuman sanction would strike them in
the form of sickness or accident.

582 Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great interdiction,
[613] pikadu, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and
one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found
among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

[595] --I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same
lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters"
[589] at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry
her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same
lineage;

--I may not have relations, even passing ones, with a
[835] woman who has been married to my brother by the same mother;
[589] in particular, if my brother has just died, I shall not be able
to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons
for these interdictions, but they interpret them as purely social
[684] and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened
with being beaten.

The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in
[171] Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal
system.

[171] The second of these rules is characteristic in the Akan
(Agni, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom
of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of
the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

184 One can note that this rule is exactly contrary to the
589 Saramaka custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the
114 brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by
several authors as coming from imitation of the levirate of the
Jews, with which certain rebels were acquainted (it is known that
among the slaveowners there were many Jews).

/140 cont./

184 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka
589 custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may
[613] choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matrilineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide
[586] choice. She can break this union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

582 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency
619 of unions between /141/-/table appears here//142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA, PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:
--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 50 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
[648] -- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%):

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Maroni of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen coming to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

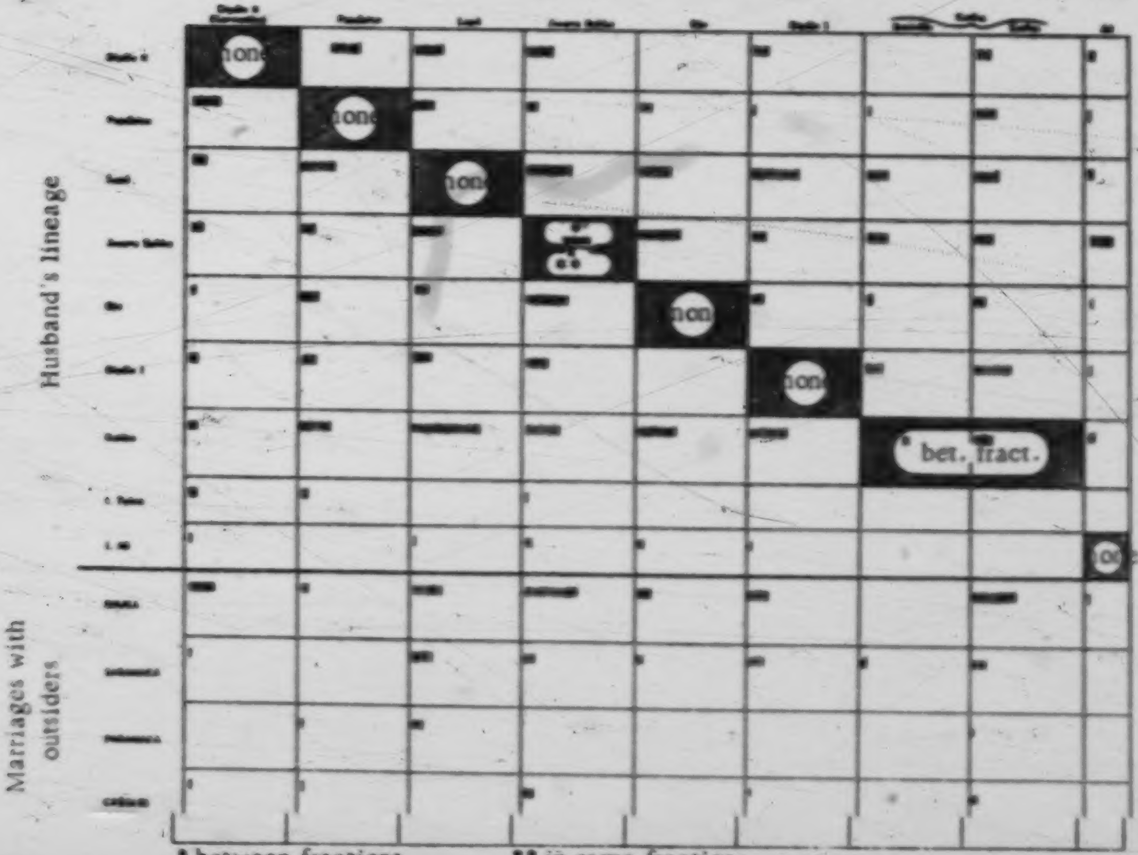
[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 209]

6:Hurault--208 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

582
613
619
648

Marriage of Boni women of the lineages:


Husband's lineage
Marriages with outsiders
none
none
none
none
none
none
bet. fract.
none

* between fractions ** in same fraction

/142 cont./

582 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have al-
619 most no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 The table confirms besides that marriages between mem-
613 bers of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6 with men of the Dipélu I lineage
7 -- -- - - Dipélu II --
7 -- -- - - Papaïstone --
11 -- -- - - Awara Bakka --
4 -- -- - - Dju --
5 -- -- - - Dipélu I /sic/ --
20 -- -- - - Kotika --

[628] In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 For example a high proportion of women from
613 Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïston and recipro-
628 cally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an
619 indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing
621 through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

582 /142 cont./
619 people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up
621 relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïsson village, where no Djuka has settled permanently. /143/

584 613 [604] The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

[604] If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the envoys. [969] Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding.

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/143 cont./

585 613 The head of the lineage calls a classificatory sister of the girl. He takes her by the hand and leads her to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this woman."

Then he calls a classificatory brother of the girl. He leads him to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this man."

This second part of the ceremony is purely symbolic; there is no question at all that this man and this woman are marrying. Its purpose seems to be to show the perfect equality of the man and the woman in the marriage.

[969] The words pronounced in the invocation to the ancestors are: "We give (this) woman to (this) man; may they live together, may they not be sick, may they have children, children who live."

[584] There is no need for the assent of the woman's father.

585 If it is a question of the first marriage of a young girl,
the fiancé comes, aided by his friends, to build her a house.
[583] He builds her a boat and buys for her what is necessary for
[429] domestic life. When the person who is bringing up the girl
judges the time to be ripe, she gives her the *pãŋgi*, garment of
married women, authorizing thus the consummation of the
marriage.

[613] [969] The husband who built the house asks the elders of his wife's lineage to come in front of the house to throw tafia, to ask the ancestors that the couple be fecund and live a long time in this house.

584 613 Here, for example, is how the marriage proposal to Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43, Asisi village) by Déési (L1, F45, Loka village) proceeded in 1948.

To represent him Déési had sent his classificatory brother Tamu /144/ (L1, F32), older than he by about 15 years, and his classificatory aunt, Yaana (L1, E39). (See the genealogical table of the Lapé lineage.)

/144 cont./

584 The envoys, after making it known the evening before
613 that they were coming, presented themselves at 10 o'clock in the morning in Asisi-Awara Bakka village. Present were Irma, Chitaïna's mother; Alémin (Aw.B.1, E40), actual uncle; Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47), one of the oldest of the classificatory uncles; Namu (Aw.B.1, E48), classificatory aunt; and the girl's brothers and sisters by the same mother.

Tamu took the floor, unfolding Déési's merits and stating that he had serious intentions. The eldest of the uncles declared
585 acceptance. Chitaïna having fled according to custom, he
613 took her young sister Boomi, who was only five years old, by the hand and led her to Tamu, saying, "I give thee this woman." Then he took Abéni, Chitaïna's older brother, by the hand and led him to Yaana, saying, "I give thee this man."

[769] Next, tafia was poured on the ground while the ancestors were invoked in favor of the /new/ household.

The liter of tafia brought by Déési was shared symbolically in the evening among all the village inhabitants including the Afi lineage there.

585 For the installation of the household, since there was no
431 more room near Irma's house to build another, the latter gave one of the two houses she possessed.

584 Here is still another example concerning the two wives
602 of Fintiman (Dju, F6, Boniville village).

[595] For his first wife Mimi (K3, E156, Boniville) he sent his brother and sister by the same mother, Klémenti and Eliana, who approached Mimi's mother and her classificatory uncle Lébiman.

Fintiman had previously made sure of the agreement of his own father Malobi (Dip. I, E50), who had brought him up, of his mother Béniti, and of his uncle Diolè (Dju, E1), the eldest of the classificatory uncles.

/144 cont./

584 602 To ask for his second wife Bugi (Aw.B. 1, F41, Asisi-Awara Bakka vge.) he had sent Dosu (Dip. I, E4, Boniville), his father Malobi's classificatory brother (although a very distant relative) and his younger sister by the same mother, Kulina, who made the marriage proposal to Bugi's mother and to her classificatory uncles Antonu and Mato.

582 178 [701] Age of marriage. In former times there was a very precise custom about this. Men were not authorized to marry before about 30 years of age, constituting until that age the immediately mobilizable armed force. Women were authorized by their mothers to marry only when they had reached complete physical development, or between 20 and 22 years. This was the safeguard of a society deprived of all medical help against obstetrical risk, particularly serious for very young women. When the fiancé had temporarily emigrated to earn his living, the marriage could be put off until the age of 25 years and more. [184] This late marriage of girls was still met with only a few years ago among the Djuka, more faithful to custom. There was on the average five to ten years of age difference between husband and wife. /145/

For about the past ten years, under the influence of the relaxation of family discipline, the marriage age has gone down considerably, as much for the man as for the woman. Nearly all the girls married during the last two years were from 15 to 17 years old. It can be stated that the average marriage age of girls is 16 years (1).

1. We are speaking here of the age at the time of the consummation of marriage.

/145 cont./

582 About a third of the young men marry between 18 and 20; nearly all the others before 25.

However, part of the girls choose as husbands men appreciably older than they, so that the average age difference between husband and wife remains close to six years.

Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Average	Spread
1936 and after	24/2/0/14/3/0/4/1/6/ 1/4/17/2/9/—2/19/4/ 4/1/9/1/17/4/2/9/4/1/ 12/7/10/14/4/	+ 6.5 years	-2 to + 24 years 33 out of 34 husbands are older than their wives
1926 to 1935 incl.	7/6/30/12/20/28/5/11/ 8/4/6/5/17/—1/—1/—1 10/5/9/—1/2/2/7/10/ 19/14/8/—2/6/4/5/14/ 0/—7/4/14/0/13/4/13/	+ 6.9 years	-7 to +30 years 35 out of 41 husbands are older than their wives
1916 to 1925 incl.	5/—3/—11/—2/10/2/ 1/—4/22/2/17/14/11/ 4/7/5/16/3/6/1/17/4/— 4/20/4/7/10/—14/10/ 9/6/9/11/8/10/9/—4	+5.9 years	—11 to +22 years 30 out of 37 husbands are older than their wives

/145 cont./

582

Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Aver-age	Spread
1896 to 1915 incl.	—4/1/—1/8/2/—3/—2/7/3/22/9/—3/2/—11/19/17/11/11/21/5/3/1/1/3/2/6/20/16/—2/8/	+5.8 years	−1 to +22 years 22 out of 29 husbands are older than their wives
before 1896	2/0/3/10/—10/—5/5/—2/10/—8/8/0/5/5/.	+1.5 years	−10 to +8 years 8 out of 14 husbands are older than their wives

[587] [162] As the man and woman advance in age, this average age difference of six years is maintained in the course of successive remarriages until old age. It decreases then only by the effect of demographic factors, the proportion of women in the higher age brackets being greater and greater.

162 Out of 37 women over 60 years of age in the Boni villages on the French bank, only 14 were married; all the others had been widows or divorcees for a long time.

/145 cont./

582 Generally speaking, the custom of the Refugee Blacks used to consider as immoral the marriage of a very young girl to an old man, or of a very young boy to an adult woman. 588 178 The weakening of family morals is clearly demonstrated by two events which happened during the summer of 1960. A boy of thirteen and a half, K... of Boniville, left his guardian to join an Assisi woman, A...., 20 years older than he and with a very bad reputation to boot; some months later his example was imitated /146/ by a boy of 14 who began living with a [684] [613] woman of 29. Nothing like that had ever been seen, and people inveighed against the scandal of it; but in both cases, guardians and lineage heads showed themselves incapable of making their authority respected by force.

882 [562] Marriage of girls. It can still be said (although things are in the process of changing rapidly) that girls, kweyi umã, occupy a place apart in the thought of the Refugee Blacks; the reprobation which embraces women does not extend to them. 882 834 [291] People say that girls "have good manners," and in fact most of them, although naked except for a little apron, have a reserved attitude, a becoming bearing, which contrast with the attitude of the married women. To tell the truth, this virtue is not so much due to natural inclinations as to the strict [593] vigilance with which their mothers surround them. The mothers literally do not let them out of their sight and permit no man to speak to them out of their presence. "Until dawn, until the cock crows, she keeps vigil," says the song, alluding to the mother who watches over her daughter's virtue. If a girl [836] [597] comes to lose her virginity without being properly married, pɔti na ɔsu, "established in a house," it is a dishonor for her mother and her near relatives.

/146 cont./

882 Whereas little girls before puberty are left free to come
[858] and go, older girls are the object of constant surveillance.
They are always under the surveillance of one of their near
[883] relatives specifically designated. If they have permission to
go dancing in another village, they must present themselves
upon arrival to an uncle, an aunt, an older brother who will
watch over them all evening.

Sometimes they build for a girl a little house where she sleeps alone ... but she is double-locked into it for the night.

At nightfall, when their mothers are busy with the prepa-
[883] ration of the meal, the girls are sent to get water or to angle
for fish; there is wavering in the surveillance, and seducers
know how to profit by it.

[593] Until recent times girls were held by their mothers in
[584] the bonds of a strict authority, and although engaged very
[582] young, they were not authorized to marry before reaching
complete physical development.

584 It often used to happen that a girl might be promised by
her mother to a man from her first years (they still say, although
that is no longer practiced, *pɔti mɔfu na umã*, "to put his
mouth on a girl," meaning by that to have received a promise
of marriage). This plan always used to remain subject to the
girl's assent when she grew up and did not constitute a contract,
strictly speaking; it did not involve any payment or compensa-
[593] tion whatever. A girl could not be obligated to a marriage
which was absolutely displeasing to her, but the mother's
authority was great enough to make these marriages come about
in most cases.

If a girl had not been promised, the young man who
[431] wanted to marry her used to try to attract her attention during
a dance and to exchange a few words with her. /147/ Later he
would give her a paddle bearing symbols of fecundity and the
representation of a house and a boat. If the girl accepted the
paddle, he could propose to her officially.

/147 cont./

583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Baïkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moómu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Béniti.

[604] [613] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the lineage.

836 [599] The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mothe[illegible]ut if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pãŋgi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for 848 558 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

/147 cont./

848 If the girl is pregnant, the man may not abandon her: that would make a great to-do between the two kin groups: he must stay with her at least until the birth of the child.

883 Nowadays among the Boni things tend to happen complete-
836 ly otherwise than custom makes provision for. The general
178 opinion is that girls can no longer be held down, that they
[582] escape more and more from the authority of their mothers;
many of them begin to run wild at about 14 or 15, and people
are obliged to marry them off precipitately at 15 or 16. It is
difficult to say what the proportion of these hasty marriages is,
but the recriminations heard on all sides on the subject of the
shamelessness of girls give the idea that it is increasing. In the
[582] villages on the French bank, out of nine girls married in 1958
[848] there were only four marriages concluded according to regulations; the five others had been arranged hastily either because the girl was pregnant (two cases) or because she had laid herself open to scandal. /148/

582 Nearly all girls married between 1952 and 1956 were 15 to 17 years old.

584 This is about how things happen:

A man who is attracted by a girl tries to exchange a few
[537] words with her unknown to her mother. There are special forms
for these declarations. One speaks in a low voice, very fast, using special formulas. This is how one of our boatmen, one evening in October, 1952, addressed young Lomé, age 15, of Boniville village, who had gotten away from her mother on the pretext of going to get water for us.

584 "Woman, I love thee, I wish to live with thee, I wish to
539 marry thee. That which God put in me I cannot take away (1).

1. Which means: I cannot change, you must take me as I am.

/148 cont./

584 539 I do not know whether thou lovest me, whether thou wilt answer yes or no; perhaps I am not so handsome as thou, but I cannot help loving thee. If thou lovest me, tell me clearly. I have come, I have attached my boat to a rock, I have wet my feet before reaching land (2)."

> 2. High-flown words to which no precise meaning can be attached; it is a kind of verbal music whose formulas vary infinitely.

"Come back tomorrow, come back, I cannot answer thee today, I cannot."

"I know for today, but not for tomorrow (3); yield to me, be mine, I shall give thee the garment (4)."

> 3. One must understand: It is necessary to decide today.

> 4. The man lays down one of his garments at the home of the woman who has agreed to marry him.

584 Our departure on our tour the next day put an end to his attempts for the time being!

836 684 It often happens that the girl allows herself to be seduced; her mother soon learns of it from the village people. She flies into a passion, beats her daughter to obtain a confession without

[558] which she can obtain nothing from the supposed seducer. It is an extreme shame for a mother not to receive the price of her

/148 cont./

836 daughter's virginity: the other women will make fun of her and
684 as for the men, they will be unanimous in laughing cruelly at
[558] the new trick played on the women. Now certain girls refuse obstinately to confess, or they have already had several adventures, so that nobody succeeds in knowing the truth. After many recriminations and arguments the affair proceeds no further.

If it has been possible to identify the seducer with certainty, the mother, arming herself with a stick, goes from village to village to find him; his uncles intervene and end by settling the business by asking the mother to accept, since there is nothing else to do, the payment for virginity. This sum absolutely must be paid; if the young man were not able to do it, his uncles would pay it for him even if they have to turn against him ultimately. The mother accepts the payment, honor is safe.

583 In many cases the couple consider themselves as joined, at least temporarily; the man prepares, if he is hard working, to build a house for his wife. If he is not hard working, he simply promises to make one for her some day; in reality he has spared himself this great labor; the woman will have to wait for years unless her mother or one of her uncles dies, bequeathing her his or her house. /149/

836 Observation in Boniville in October, 1956:
684 A village woman comes to complain to Fintiman that his nephew and ward Doni has deflowered her daughter Elina, 15 *years old, in July of the same year. She learned it indirectly,* and the daughter expressly confessed it. Doni admitted the facts; he promised to pay the indemnity at the end of the border-fixing mission when he has received his pay. Elina continues to wear the kwɛy until further orders and does not show any embarrassment. Doni comes back in the evening. I hear Fintiman reprimand him, but only for form's sake: "Deflowering a girl when one does not intend to live with her is something which is

/149 cont./

836 684 not done." He advises Doni above all to remit to the girl the payment of her akka, namely two camisas, a string of white beads which she will wear on her left wrist, and a bottle of syrup which she will offer to her akka while drinking it. Doni does not bother to face the mother and does not intend to see the girl again; it is his sister Maria who will attend to the errand.

That done, the mother will accept the fait accompli and will not show her anger. She will wait for the payment.

584 836 One also hears talk rather often of the clandestine consummation of a properly arranged marriage, the engaged couple wishing thus to force the hand of their guardians and obtain their freedom sooner.

587 Remarriage of widows or divorcées. It does not give rise to any payment, but the marriage proposal is made to the woman's uncles and the head of her lineage in the same form as for a girl. In such a case it is no longer a question of asking for an authorization (a man would have to have the worst reputation for the woman's lineage to refuse the marriage) but to obtain the benediction of the ancestors on the household. Moreover, it is [613] very important for the heads of both lineages to be notified of this marriage, for in case of the death of husband or wife the other will have to bear the weight of the mourning.

581 Women are guided in their choice by sensual attraction but largely also by self-interest. They take care to marry a man who has, as it is said among us, some future, a position. The owners of outboard motors do not fail to pass at reduced speed by the villages in order to be admired by the women.

Men who have a reputation for "working hard" (for work is the sole wealth in Boni country) are frequently chosen by girls even though they may have one or two wives already.

/149 cont./

592 593 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.) [462]

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia. [562]

[241] [422] [434] [591] In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her exclusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.

591 592 Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

/150 cont./

593 Nothing marks better the small place the conjugal bond
342 has in a man's life; imagine the torture which this forced living
461 and crowding together represent for each of these women! The
[198] Boni of today, much richer than their ancestors and better
equipped with tools, are singularly lazier in building houses;
no longer is anyone seen to sculpture and decorate the façades
lovingly; when a man, after many recriminations, decides to
build a house for his wife, he is content most of the time now
with a simple shelter with plaited walls, which does not require
30 days work.

595 As we have said, each man may take as many wives as
he wishes, on condition that he can supply their needs; but in
practice the maintenance of a household is so heavy a load that
most men have only one or two wives; only one to our knowledge
593 has three. In fact, it is contrary to custom to free oneself by
[461] paying for work which one must do for one's wife. We have
[556] never heard it said that a rich man (many of them have hundreds
[454] of thousands of francs in savings) paid money in place of a piece
of work, or paid someone to do it for him. The furnishing of
[439] imported objects is particularly burdensome, especially cloth,
kitchen utensils (Boni women are infatuated with aluminum
[511] objects), and occasionally jewels. The Boni conceded in 1958
that the maintenance of a wife amounted to 30 to 40 thousand
[434] francs a year at least. If one considers that a hard-working man
[511] earned about 120,000 francs a year, that he spent 30 to 40
[695] thousand francs a year for himself, that he often had /151/ in
addition to provide for the needs of his aged parents and share
the expenses of the festivals of the lineage, one sees that he
could not have more than two wives at the same time. As for
[434] less hard-working men, who have no more than 60 to 80 thousand
[511] francs a year in ready money, they have a great deal of trouble
[586] in facing the maintenance of a single household, and many
divorces have no other cause.

/151 cont./

593 [591] [163] Among the Refugee Blacks some very devoted couples are seen, who spend their whole lives together and who, in their old age, have completely united their destinies, living in the same house, either in the woman's village or the man's: for example, in the village of Lapé Tabiki, Butu and his wife Assmani, in 1952 aged about 70 years, together for 45 years and having had eight children. But such cases are exceptional. Besides, they [581] are not admired and held up as an example as one might believe; this man and this woman suited each other, they remained together; if some day they no longer get along, they will divorce, that is all.

595 Polygamy. Polygamy in the African sense of the term, that is, the simultaneous maintenance of several regular households, is exceptional among the Refugee Blacks because of their mode of living:

[433] [511] --The wife is practically entirely dependent on her husband; an economy based mainly on wage earning and involving a relatively high standard of living makes it impossible for most men to maintain more than one household;

[461] --Even if a man had sizable financial means at his disposal, he could scarcely maintain more than two households; for it is not acceptable, at least nowadays, for him to have done by others the customary chores: clearings, boats, house.

162 595 On January 1, 1958 out of 134 men over 20 years old in the villages on the French bank, whose lives were well known to us, there were:

Men maintaining three households	1	1%
" " two households	18	13%
" " one household	104	77%
[589] Bachelors, widowers, or recent divorcés	11	8%
	134	100% /sic/

/151 cont./

595 Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee
Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But
581 it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their
586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks
are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and
gives her a liter of tafia, asking her to live on good terms with
[586] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives
and get divorced.

587 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives
586 successively. Most of the time these marriages have been
163 broken by the wife. /152/

Example S... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nanay (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Baakauman (K)†	3 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saumè (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Paata (Boniville)	no children	"
Emma (Asisi-Aw.B.)	no children	"
Masé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Apinda (Asisi)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Do (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Noémi (Asisi-Aw.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159
582 Example of the family life of G... (50 years old in 1958).
About 1935 G... married M... (Kotika), a serious-minded and
159 intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Neverthe-
837 less, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S...,
[847] classificatory sister of M..., whom he made pregnant (abortion).

159 /152 cont./
595 Since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the
[837] same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to
[613] intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M...., he took officially another wife, A... (Papaïston). They lived together nearly
[839] eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a
[586] trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T...., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

[589] A year later A...., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G...., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Thus he found himself engaged in three unions, M....,
[586] A...., and T.... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

Finally he took a last wife, B... (Asisi), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M...., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[842] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M... and B...., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

/152 cont./

606 Relations between husband and mother-in-law. As is commonly observed in Africa, the husband has the duty to respect his mother-in-law, to have a reserved attitude toward her. /153/ A curious custom exists on this subject among the Refugee Blacks: If he inadvertently arrives at the village wharf at the moment when she is bathing, he must pay her compensation in the form of a camisa. This is a reciprocal obligation.

[513] He may sleep under the same roof as she when the village is crowded, but not habitually.

606 607 On the other hand, the custom of the Refugee Blacks differs sharply from African customs on one important point: it does not call for any material obligation toward the mother-in-law or the wife's brothers. The husband is not at all required to give them presents or to contribute toward their maintenance. In fact, the wife gives her mother part of what her husband gives her.

684 Adultery. The custom of the Refugee Blacks concerning adultery is extremely curious. The outraged husband has the right to inflict a public punishment on the lover, which he must stand without defending himself. In the absence of the husband his brother is qualified to strike in his place. This punishment must take place in a village in the presence of witnesses capable of intervening if the punishment goes beyond accepted limits.

Only bare fists may be used.

A man can always escape too brutal a punishment by taking refuge in the water. His adversary may not follow him into it under pain of a severe punishment by the grand man. He can also take refuge in the bush.

[672] The husband's honor being thus publicly restored, the row is over; in such cases some men are seen to beat the wife in addition, but this is not the general case; the true custom does not call for the wife to be beaten because she is considered irresponsible. She can either be repudiated or threatened

684 /153 cont./
586 with repudiation in case of a second offense. The rule is to
626 repudiate her, under pain of ridicule.

837 In 1951 G..., of Kotika village, was informed that his
wife A..., of Asisi village, 25 years old, was deceiving him
with a boy of the same age named K.... The first time he
684 encountered K in a village he took issue with him; K... confessed without difficulty. G... delivered a strong punch which
threw him to the ground, and that was all. He did not ad-
[586] minister any punishment to his wife but immediately let her
know that he was repudiating her. Some time after, K...
[576] asked to be reconciled with him. He asked his pardon and
[431] gave him a bottle of tafia (this is obligatory for reconciliation).
Since, the two men have again been friends.

It also happens that the grand man levies a more or less stiff fine on the guilty man.

837 According to the elders, adultery was rare in former
[586] times. If a woman was tired of her husband, she divorced him
openly, but she did not deceive him. Nowadays it seems to be rather frequent.

586 Divorce. The Refugee Blacks divorce each other as easily as they join together; in general it is the woman who decides to break up the union because she finds her husband too poor, too lazy, or simply because she wants to change. /154/

In the case of divorce the woman keeps all that her husband has given to her or made for her (utensils, house, boat), but of course the man keeps all his own belongings; this rupture changes nothing about the possession of property since no object was owned jointly.

581 The rule is the following: at the time of the marriage the man puts down symbolically several personal objects (fabrics, utensils) in the woman's home. As long as these objects are in her home the marriage remains in force, the wife is held to fidelity or at the very least, if there is adultery, it is regarded as such and entails the sanction related above.

/154 cont./

000 as such and entails the sanction related above. But the wife
586 has the absolute right, even in her husband's absence, to break the contract unilaterally by taking back to the head of her husband's lineage the objects left with her. From this moment on, no more can be said to her, she is no longer guilty of adultery, and she can take another husband forthwith; in case of the first husband's death she will not have to stand the weight of the mourning. All that her husband has made for her: house, boat, etc... is kept without counterpart.

No Boni leaving on a three-month trip is sure of finding his wife again. He may very well find another man installed in his place, officially, without his being able to say anything. As for those who leave for a long time, this is practically a certainty.

This is a misfortune which however they take philosophically, thinking above all of the work furnished for nothing. What concerns them most is not to be deceived clandestinely,
[684] for the final result is the same: they are practically obliged
[626] to repudiate the wife in such a case, for it is unworthy of a man to forgive, and in addition they will be the laughingstock of the population.

Several of our boatmen made the following speech to their wives at the time of leaving for a two-months' tour: "If you have enough of me in my absence, if you cannot wait for me, go and take my belongings to the house of such-and-such a brother; I shall not be angry and will not do anything to you on my return."

581 Custom is so favorable to the women that practically nothing guarantees the private contract made between the man and woman at the time of marriage. Since this contract is
[586] essentially founded on a material association, the man cutting the clearing and the woman farming it, one might believe that the woman would be held to fulfilling her contract even in case of the marriage's breaking up, but there is nothing of the sort.

/154 cont./

586 As far as the clearing already cut and planted is concerned, if it is on the land of the wife's family, the man can demand nothing. However, some women continue to furnish couac for a year after breaking up.

If the clearing is on the husband's lands, the woman continues to farm it normally. But she is required to furnish
[593] food as if there had been no rupture. This is why men who do
[241] not trust their wives insist on cutting the clearing on land of their own lineage.

Many women wait to divorce their husbands until after they have cut the year's clearing! In January, 1957, upon the return of the border-fixing mission from the southern frontier, /155/ one of us heard M...., a woman of about 40, speak in these terms of her husband T...., 60 years old, who had done everything for her and still used to come to take part in laborious jobs to procure money for her: "He is getting old; I am going to have to look for another."

Observation at Maripasoula, Nov. 5, 1956.

Mutété, boatman of the Maripasoula post, laments in front of his comrades: his wife has just had him notified, without indicating any motive, that she was breaking with him. She did not even disturb herself to tell him so, and she waited until he had finished cutting the year's clearing for her! His
[562] comrades once more expressed their rancor against the avarice, spitefulness, and inconstancy of Boni women, inferior beings whom they had once and for all given up trying to understand.

Among the Refugee Blacks people divorce at any age, at 70 years as well as at 18. Thus it is that Captain Diofè († 1951), head of the Dju lo, and his wife Efa, of the Papaïston lo, divorced each other about 1940 when both were approaching 70 and had remained together more than 35 years: in growing old their natures no longer hit it off.

/155 cont./

586 [163] Likewise Pééchina, about 70 years old in 1957, separated from Nachinengé (Kotika) after having spent the greatest part of her life with him and having six children by him.

In order to be able to break thus a long standing union without undergoing moral collapse, it is certainly necessary for the affectivity of each one to be entirely centered on his maternal family.

586 124 Frequency of divorce. This essential aspect of the social life of the Refugee Blacks is not easy to lay hold on by direct interrogation. The women do not willingly talk about their past unions and let go in silence the ones which remained 586 128 childless. However, we were able to reconstitute with rather great certainty the past life of about a hundred women (mothers, near relatives, or wives of our most reliable informants). These men /"women" -- printing error. -- Tr./ are marked with a double asterisk ** in the population list of the villages.

[178] It is useful to classify them by age groups relating to the year of birth, for we shall see that the frequency of divorce seems to have increased with time. The groups chosen are the same as for the demographic investigation which we carried on parallel to the sociological study:

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Women born from	0 Div.	1 Div.	2 Div.	3 Div.	4 Div.	Irregular Life	Total
1926 to 1935 incl.	13	8	8	0	0	2	31
1916 to 1925 incl.	9	7	10	1	0	3	30
1896 to 1915 incl.	1	12	6	3	0	1	23
before 1896	3	9	5	1	2	(?)	20
						Total....	104

/156/ Supposing that divorces are regularly spaced through the course of life, and that they cease at about the age of 65 on the average, one can arrive at an estimate of the average number of divorces in store for a Boni woman at old age.

Women born from	Average Age End 1957	Average No. Divorces	Probable No. by Age 65
1926 to 1935 incl.	27 years	0.8 in 10 years(1)	3.8
1916 to 1925	37 years	1.0 in 17 years	2.8
1896 to 1915	52 years	1.5 in 32 years	2.1
before 1896	70 years		1.5 (?)

[582]

1. The average age at marriage is 17 for this group of women, 20 for the earlier groups.

/156 cont./

586 The estimate of the average number of divorces for women
[128] born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number,
their first divorces not being well known to our informants.
It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women
593 is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very
178 strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause
people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N...,
who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with
Asadam (K. Boniville), who did not want to marry her either.
She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extreme-
[558] ly shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state
of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect
consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by
marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked
586 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a
587 year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika
village).

584 Aguba (D.u. G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941,
had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May,
1956 by Paĩtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was
584 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But
585 Paĩtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine-
[429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and
guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give
her the [illegible] until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few
586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with
Paĩtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

/157 cont./

586 If one considers all Boni women together without any age distinctions, one can estimate that on the average they have been divorced 2.5 times during the course of their lives between 18 and 65 years of age. The average duration of marriages (not counting unions broken by the death of one of the spouses) could be evaluated, for the period before 1950, at about 15 years. [178] It tends to decrease in proportion as a generation brought up under less strict discipline reaches adulthood (1).

[162] 1. Doctor Étienne Bois, revising in September, 1960 our card file stopped at the end of November, 1958, recorded for the villages on the French bank 28 divorces which had taken place in the course of this period of 1.8 years. The number of women of marriageable age in these villages being about 160, this figure corresponds to 0.1 divorce per woman and per year, or to an average duration of unions of about 10 years.

[837] Dissoluteness of the women. It appears that most wives are faithful to their husbands for the duration of the union. But since they have the possibility of breaking this union with no need of authorization by anybody whatever, they leave their husband very readily, whether they have stopped liking him or whether they intend to marry a richer man.

/157 cont./

589 [587] A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more, may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikadu, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[586] We have cited the example of Aguba, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Paifiki /sic/ after only one year of living together. She was living with Lènga who brought her up; she was cutting a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concern but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. [836] Men used to come to solicit her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would ask for a camisa, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[429] Her guardian Lènga used to press her to take another husband, but she could not forbid her to live thus, having given with the pangi her freedom as a woman.

[587] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

836 As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman noticed him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore, [504] advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow nocturnal visitors to arrive at night without being noticed and to leave again before dawn. /158/

[684] If a woman lacks this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishments on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his natal village.

/158 cont./

848 [784] [753] If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni 842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 431 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth, jewels); so the men who have the most success with women are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a little more difficulty than another in finding another husband, but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the [836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 648 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 [178] Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to become shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years. [191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed 548 among the black populations of South America. Among them is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South America, the supported mistress who does not work and who lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimã (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmã (grave-diggers), some others wasimã (bathers of the dead).

767 467 Kisimã and ɔlɔmã. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmã and kisimã constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/159 cont./

767 --The kisimã command the village during the whole
764 time the coffin is being made and can requisition anyone to
[466] help them;

--The ɔlɔmã are masters of the river while their work lasts. In particular they can requisition travelers passing through to help them, and even confiscate their provisions. This is piisi, a joke. But as Mr. W. F. Van Lier also has us observe, this custom has a deep meaning; it reminds everyone that participation in the burial of a dead person is a fundamental religious duty.

767 The organization of these customary societies is, at least
467 among the Boni, very rudimentary.

In each village there is a head of the ɔlɔmã who is acquainted with the topography of the cemetery and the rites to be carried out (hedemã fu ɔlo).

In Boniville, in 1958, this was Bukuman (Papaïston);
In Loka, Tabikit, not replaced at the beginning of 1958;
In Asisi, Antonu (Awara Bakka).

If he is absent, someone is sent to get the head of the ɔlɔmã of another village.

Likewise, in each village there is a head of the kisimã:
In Boniville, this was Fintiman (Dju);
In Asisi, it was Boofo (Awara Bakka);
In Kormotibo, it was Aténi. /160/

764 The people willingly lend one another assistance from one
476 village to the other, with no need even to ask for help, and
even if it is a question of burying a foreigner in the country, a
Saramaka or a Djuka for example, who dies in Boni country.
767 For the making of the coffin it is rare not to find about 15 kisimã
461 spontaneously met together when four or five would be enough.
[152] They like this labor very much, which proceeds in an atmosphere
of joyous over-excitement in the center of admiring spectators.

/160 cont./

767 According to the moral law of the Refugee Blacks, all work must be paid for. The work of the ɔlɔmɛ and kisimɛ is no exception to the rule: the dead person must pay for what is done for him; to this end, his brothers appropriate pieces of cloth from his trunk (about 30 if the dead man was rich) and since that would not suffice, the relatives and friends of the dead man come to swell these assets by giving additional pieces of cloth.

If the dead man was very poor and no longer had cloth in good condition, the people of the lineage must give enough so that at least six may be given to the kisimɛ and about ten to the ɔlɔmɛ. If there are too few pieces of cloth for each one to be able to receive a whole one, they are cut up into small pieces, but it is absolutely indispensable for each one to be paid, even if symbolically.

764 Unfolding of the burial rites. These rites are complex, and the ceremonies in which they unfold are always very confused. Even if one is acquainted with the general idea and understands the language rather well, they are very difficult to follow. For clearness in this account, we shall first give a résumé, which will be followed by observations collected in particular cases. [128]

763 The day of the death is taken up by weeping and lamentations and the sending of messengers to the neighboring villages.

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764 As soon as the death is announced, the kisimã hastily construct a platform called papay (1), while waiting for the building of the coffin which will be undertaken the next day.

[824] 1. Papay = canon wood /F. canon, from L. canna reed, pipe, tube -- Tr./ (Cecropia Sp.), rapid-growing shrub similar to the African parasol-tree; it is used for the construction of the platform because of the great lightness of its stem.

The wasimã bathe the dead man with warm water after transporting him to a special place in the village. A hole is dug for the run-off of this water and closed up again afterward. This place is strictly reserved for this use; people do not go there any other time (at Boniville it is behind hut No. 5).

[767] The wasimã are two in number, two men and two women; in each lineage there are at least one man and one woman who are acquainted with this work.

[775] The wasimã remove from the dead man every object (metal, ɔbia, etc.) and dress him in clean clothes. Cotton is put in his nostrils and a chin-strap put on, all of which will be removed at the moment when the coffin is closed (so that the yɔrka of the dead man will not be impeded in its life beyond the grave).

The body placed in the papay is carried under the mortuary shed (kręyɔsu = house /161/ of tears). A tuft of hair and the fingernails are taken, which are wrapped in a cloth and hung inside the kręyɔsu.

/161 cont./

[764] The dead person's spouse, his nearest relatives, and his children come and hang their hammocks inside the krɛyɔsu, where they will live until broko dɛ (eighth day after the death).

[533] [535] The village people begin the tukka songs and dance, which will last part of the night, while the friends and near relatives of the dead man lament seated, head covered with a cloth.

[824] The first day after the death, as soon as it is morning, the kisimɛ̃ arrive, and begin to make the coffin, using mahogany boards always kept on hand, thanks to the head of the village.

? [613] The women of the dead man's lineage prepare a meal which is offered to the kisimɛ̃ about 1:00 P.M. at the end of their work.

While the coffin is being made, the dead man's friends and distant relatives arrive in crowds from the neighboring villages, bringing tafia and cloth as offerings. Two kisimɛ̃ lay these pieces of cloth one by one on the body saying, "So-and-so buries you."

[767] These pieces of cloth are divided up; about 15 are put into the coffin by the kisimɛ̃, part of the rest serve as pay for the kisimɛ̃, part as pay for the ɔlɔmɛ̃; another part, finally, is used for dressing the widower and his co-wives (or the widow), showing thus that during the whole mourning period they live dependent on the dead person.

Then the kisimɛ̃ close the coffin without any other rites taking place. The late arrivers who bring more cloths knock the coffin saying, "I bury you," and put them down on the ground.

[692] The work of the kisimɛ̃ is over; they bring the body outside the krɛyɔsu, in front of which has assembled the council called lanti kuutu, which constitutes the judicial apparatus of the Boni.

/161 cont./

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This tribunal is charged with establishing the causes of death and rendering a decision on this subject which has the force of law. But it is above all charged with judging the dead person, with determining whether he has lived worthily, whether he has the right to be buried according to the rites and to be invoked as an ancestor, or whether on the contrary he was a wisimã.

[613]
[643]
The grand man designates one or two lineage heads to preside over the council and "command" the dead person until the burial.

The grand man designates who will lead the assemblage and will "command" the dead person until the burial.

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This cannot be the head of the dead person's lineage, for no one can at the same time be judge and judged.

Ex.:	for Béniti (Dju) this was Popo	head of the Lapé lo
	for Atikati (Dju) it was Kondoku	head of the Awara Bakka lo
	for Kotoïda (Aw.B.) it was Tafanié	head of the Papaïston lo
	for Way (Dip. II) it was Tafanié	—

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The 2nd and 3rd days after the death are given over to the interrogation of the dead person, which on the evening of the first day had scarcely begun.

[184]
The rites of this interrogation vary from one village to another; in certain villages they begin to carry the dead man even before the construction of the coffin; the questions are not asked everywhere in the same fashion.

[171]
The dead person is interrogated by methods widespread in West Africa and which are related to spiritualism: the coffin is carried on the heads of two men, feet forward. The dead man is supposed to push the bearers forward to say yes, and to make them nod their heads from left to right to say no.

/162 cont./

764 In principle the forward bearer (who is called bossman by analogy
767 with a boat) must belong to the dead person's lineage. Apart
[613] from this restriction, the bearers can be (and are in fact) any
people whatever, the only condition required being that they be extremely vigorous, because the load they carry is at the limit of their strength.

Fraud can exist in isolated cases, but in the great majority of cases there is no doubt as to the good faith of the bearers; they give contradictory answers, go ahead and back interminably, until, exhausted, they are raised up again by others. Actually, the interpretation of these automatic movements does not differ essentially from any process of divination.

The dead person is interrogated from the age of four or
[766] five years up. If it is a very young child, he is not interrogated;
but the causes of his death are sought by interrogating possessed people, and if there is reason to, the kunu is appeased in the same fashion.

764 At the beginning of the interrogation the tribunal tries to
787 make sure that the dead person was not a wisimã. After sending
754 the bearers to the other end of the village, the president of the
assemblage has two young men hidden in huts; then he has the bearers called, saying to the dead person: "I have lost So-and-so and So-and-so, find them." If the dead person was an upright man, he must have acquired a suprahuman clairvoyance permitting him to direct his bearers straight away toward the huts in question. If he was a wisimã, he will be as if blind; his bearers go wandering in vain from hut to hut.

They state that this test always succeeds.

764 The interrogation proceeds interminably. The causes of
789 death are taken up. The first question is: is it a god who killed
761 you? The answer is nearly always yes, and they proceed by
[776] elimination in order to arrive, for example, at learning that it
[784] is an Ampuku, that it is the Ampuku borne by So-and-so. By
what the kunu was set in motion, how to appease it, is not the

764 /162 cont./
787 business of the tribunal. The people of the dead person's lineage
761 will have to settle that among themselves after the obsequies.
[784] The role of the tribunal is to make official the cause of death and give it the force of law.

764 787 428 Then the inheritance is taken up in the presence of the near relatives of the dead man. The questions are asked successively: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat...?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun (1)...?" The coffin moves each time

> 1. That, unless the dead man has, before his death, in front of witnesses, formally indicated the apportionment of his belongings; in such a case, questions are asked only for the objects whose attribution had not been clearly specified.

toward one of the people present. /Figs. 22 and 23 appear here/

764 [789] /163/ At the end of the third day after the death the burial is prepared; the dead person is asked from daybreak on whether he is ready for that; if not it can be postponed until the next day.

[767] [827] The [illegible] have been working at the cemetery since the beginning of the day. They are young and strong men who have to work slowly, for not a drop of sweat may fall into the grave or their akra would risk remaining prisoner in it.

About 4:00 P.M. the bearers promenade the dead person one last time in the village for a supreme adieu. The near relatives go to the wharf. The dead man is hoisted into a canoe while the apinti drum calls his yarka so that it will not remain in the village. [534] [775]

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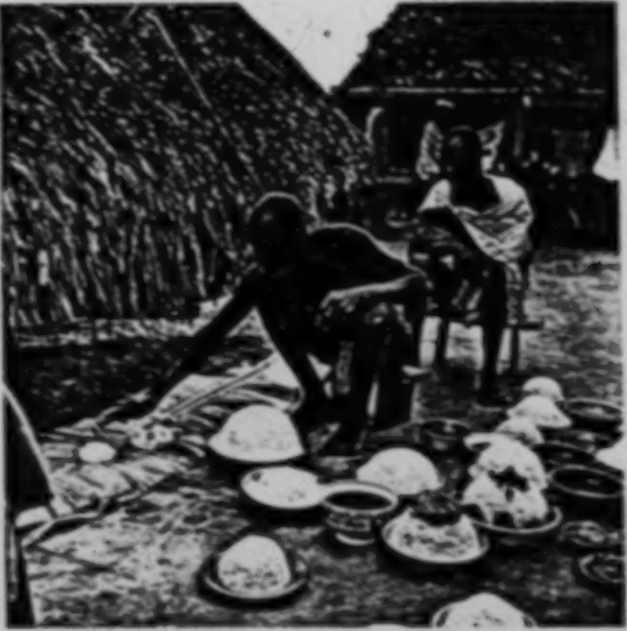

Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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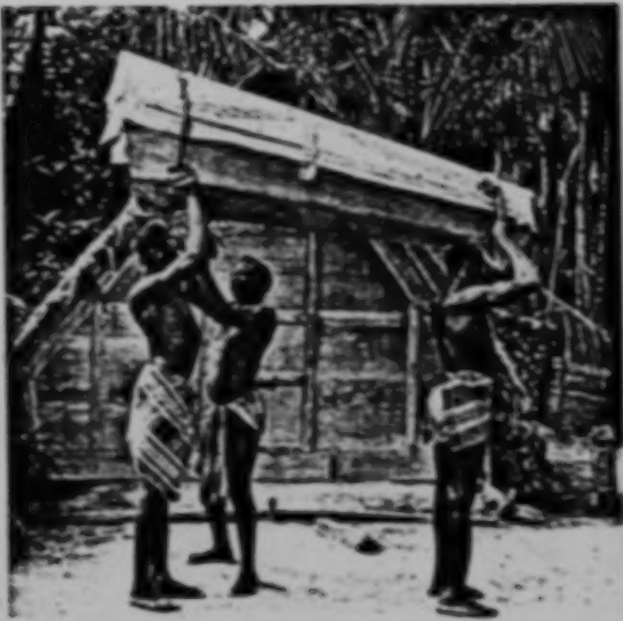
Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.



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764 About 5:00 P.M. the coffin arrives at the cemetery wharf and is given over to the ɔlɔmɛ. No other rite is carried out. It is placed at the bottom of the grave; a layer of round logs separates it from the pile of earth which is put back on top. The burial is finished about six o'clock.

Notes taken at the burial of Way in Kormotibo (January 25, 1957) (1st day after death).

I arrive in Kormotibo at nine o'clock. There are two dead people in the village: Sokodo, 37 years old, who is to be buried the next day, and Way, 65, who died in Maripasoula and whose body was transported the day before.

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(792)
(822) When we moored, I noticed at the south end of the village the bearers of Sokodo's coffin, alone and immobile. Arriving near the mortuary shed, I find Captain Kondoku, who presides over the lânti kuutu, and Captain Poopu, head of the village. Kondoku tells me that he is in the act of proceeding to a new test on Sokodo; he has just had two young men hidden, M... and G...., and the dead man is called upon to find them without hesitation.

I look around us. There is nobody nearby; a few women are attending to their occupations, indifferent to a scene observed many a time. It seems as though Kondoku is doing that for himself alone.

The coffin-bearers appear, coming from the other end of the village. Without hesitation they go toward the mortuary shed, enter it, and the end of the coffin stops before the hammock covered with a large mosquito net spread to the ground, where Way's widower, the Saramaka Gamba, is seated.

To my great surprise I see two young men go out. Nothing revealed their presence under the hammock, and Kondoku, who was talking with me, has neither said nor done anything which could direct the bearers. Nobody present could have

/163 cont./

764 787 given any indication whatever. Besides, how would he have had time to make himself understood by two men walking at top speed, crushed by their heavy load and looking straight ahead?

This upsets all the ideas I had formed about this test. The only hypothesis that remains is that the bearers have been "tipped off" by the man who went to get them (an old man of the council). But is it possible that such a crude fraud could be current practice? The Boni are far from being stupid, they are ever suspicious /164/ and they are too talkative for such deceptions not to be laid bare by their perpetrators themselves.

Under these conditions, how can it operate--this collective suggestion which explains most of the rites of the Refugee Blacks? I can't explain it to myself.

764 767 322 [412] Manufacture of the Coffin. The kisimā are gathered around a pile of boards. They are about 15 in number, commanded by Boofo, head of the kisimā of Asisi, and Aténi (Asisi-Dipélu II). A pile of boards is at their feet; some work with a small hand saw, others with an adze; the fitting is done with a machete. /Fig. 21 appears here./

They take measurements with a graver. The bottom board is cut first, then the front and back ends. The outline of the back end, in the shape of a truncated diamond, results from a rather complex construction with the compass which I have not time to report.

764 767 [152] [262] The work is done noisily in an atmosphere of crude farce. The whole time it lasts, the kisimā exert veritable command over the village. The coconut trees of Kormotibo are pillaged for their benefit. The village women prepare the rice for the meal which must, according to custom, be offered to them upon finishing the coffin about noon.

/164 cont./

764 767 322 I see the head of the kisimã make ready the fitting of the lower lateral wings. Without nailing it, he places the back end on the bottom plank, giving it the proper inclination. They put in place the board which is to serve as a wing. An elastic string smeared with soot is stretched between a_1 and a_2; they pinch it in the middle and in falling back it traces the line a_1a_2 on the wing.

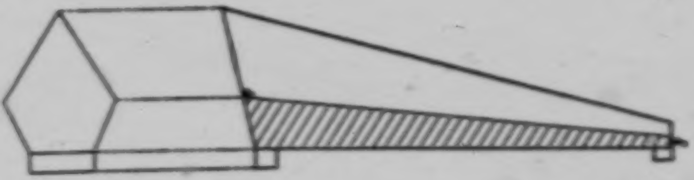

Fig. 21. A Boni coffin.

[412] The cutting out of the wing is done with a saw and the fitting with the machete, then with a plane.

About 11 o'clock they begin to nail the wings. According to the rites, several kisimã accompany in cadence the noise of the hammer blows by hitting the coffin with pieces of wood. Why this ceremony? None of the kisimã can explain it. Perhaps it would be considered dangerous for one man to carry out alone one of the operations relating most directly to death.

764 While the kisimã work, Way's friends and relatives do not stop /165/ arriving; their boats jam the wharf. The people wend their way toward the mortuary shed, men on one side, women on the other. It is the women who bring pieces of cloth (including those given by their brothers and husbands); the men carry tafia in bottles.

Upon arriving the women sit down, cover their faces and lament a few minutes, then sit down with the others in front of the mortuary shed. On the other side of the shed the men are seated, immobile on their small benches. An elder busies himself

764 /165 cont./
at collecting in a large demijohn the tafia brought. It will be used at the dances which will take place that very evening.

764 767 About 1:00 P.M. the coffin is nearly finished, the upper wings are fitted and ready to be nailed. This is the moment when, according to custom, the meal must be served. But nothing is to be seen; the village women have talked more than worked, and their preparations are far from finished.

Time passes; discontent grows among the *kisimɛ*, who threaten to stop work. About 2:00 P.M. the women come in a procession led by the oldest ones to apologize for the delay; they have to pay a forfeit of a bottle of maripa oil, in consideration of which the *kisimɛ* agree to eat; the scene lasts at least 30 minutes, in a flood of words whose transcription *in extenso* would fill a book.

[782] Before the meal an offertory rite is gone through; two of the youngest among the *kisimɛ* slowly go around the mortuary shed carrying a dish of food; at the same time they eat, they throw food on the ground, without uttering a single word. Then they go to the river where the dish is washed.

[782] After the meal the coffin is consecrated by the sacrifice of a rooster. The leader of the *kisimɛ* sprinkles with its blood first the bottom at the back, then the upper side wings.

The presenting of pieces of cloth, having gone on since noon, comes to an end. Two *kisimɛ* stand beside the body; a woman of the lineage unfolds and hands to them the cloths given by the people present.

The *kisimɛ* grab the piece of cloth and unfold it. One of them says these words: "N... *beli* *yu*, *umɛ* (N... buries you, woman)." They do that if they recognize the cloth offered by N...; if not, they simply say: "Someone buries you, woman." Then they put the cloth on the preceding ones piled up on the body. There may be 126 *camisas* (1) and

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[439] /165 cont./ There may be 126 *camisas* (1) and

1. Pieces of cotton goods about 1.10 x 0.75 meters. These cloths are manufactured in Holland especially for the Refugee Black clientele.

15 large pieces of cloth. About 30 *camisas* have been taken from the dead woman's trunk; the others have been given by the people present, the near relatives each giving several, the other relatives only one.

[783] Their work finished, the *kisimɛ̃* burn the shavings and scraps of board. They pass their tools through a flame to purify them of the stains of death. /166/

[765] About 3:00 P.M. the coffin is brought into the mortuary shed by the *kisimɛ̃*. The *kisimɛ̃*, who have complete charge of this phase of the obsequies, count the pieces of cloth and divide them up. One part will be used for their pay, others for the pay of the gravediggers. Fifteen pieces of cloth and about ten ordinary *camisas* will be placed in the coffin. The rest will be used for clothing the widower who, during the whole period of mourning, will thus remain symbolically dependent upon the dead person; if there are any left over, they are distributed to the members of the dead person's lineage.

[292] Placing in the Coffin. About three o'clock four of the *kisimɛ̃* take their places beside the coffin; they gird their loins with a *camisa* as the Refugee Blacks always do before carrying out a religious act. In the greatest silence they spread out the 15 large pieces of cloth inside the coffin, allowing them to fall to the ground at right and left. Next, two of them lift up the body while the others slip the coffin underneath (for the whole duration of the burial ceremonies, the body must remain at the exact place where it was put down. The coffin does not rest directly on the ground but is put on a mat through the

/166 cont./

764 767 medium of two round logs. This ritual seems to have as its purpose restricting the defilement of death for the village.).

The body is put back down in the deepest silence, with the greatest care, into the coffin. A pillow is put under the head.

[152] Those present show no emotion. The widower, the Saramaka Gamba, who has remained seated in his hammock since morning, turning his back to his wife's body, does not stir.

The kisima bring the edges of the pieces of cloth back over the body and put on, in addition, a few camisas of the ordinary kind. Before the upper wings of the coffin are put in place, one of them gently removes the wads of cotton which had been put in the dead woman's nostrils.

Then the upper wings of the coffin are nailed down, always according to the same rite, blows struck in cadence with pieces of wood accompanying the hammer blows.

[692] The role of the kisima is ended; they give over the dead woman to the council, lanti kuutu, charged with judging her.

764 787 Search for the Causes of Death. The ceremony begins about four o'clock in the greatest confusion, as is usual among the Refugee Blacks; it is impossible to understand who is really a member of the council and who is not a member, everybody talking at once.

I think I understand that the grand man has designated Captains Kondoku (Asisi-Awara Bakka) and Tafanié (Papaïston) to preside over the ceremony. In fact, it is neither the one nor the other who begins the interrogation, but a man from Papaïston village, Agodéba, a venerable old man whose torso is molded in a deplorably shoddy jersey calling to mind a rugby match.

/166 cont./

764
787 The coffin is placed at the edge of the mortuary shed, the front turned toward the spectators. Agodéba sits down before the front of the coffin. According to ceremony, he enters into contact with the /167/ yɔrka of the dead woman by pouring water on the ground before the coffin and calling her by name. He says the same sentences several times in different forms: "Thou hast lived here ... thou hast had children in this village; now death has killed thee. Thou must tell us who killed thee."

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[292] Two men, B... (L'Enfant Perdu, Dipélu I) and A... (Asisi-Awara Bakka) come forward, gird their loins with a camisa, and, aided by several others, lift the coffin. B...., who is of the dead woman's lineage, takes the forward position.

For about ten minutes the two bearers try to put themselves into a state of passivity permitting them to receive fitly the promptings of the dead woman; no question whatever is asked. They are seen to make contradictory movements, to go forward tilting the coffin from left to right, which means yes and no at the same time. Sometimes a sudden impulse appears to draw them far from the spectators, they are seen going from hut to hut, wheeling around, going away again.

Finally they come back. Agodéba asks: "Is it a god who struck thee down?" The answer seems to be yes. "Is it a Papa gadu, an Ampuku, a Kɔntasasu?" Contradictory answers, the people present lean toward the negative.

Agodéba continues: "Is it a yɔrka who killed thee?" Confused and contradictory movements of the coffin. Agodéba begins again: "Is it a god?" Someone among those present shouts: "Don't you see that she meant yes, speaking of the yɔrka? Agodéba gets angry, takes his hat, and leaves the meeting. General hubbub. Half an hour of words, broken by various movements and sham exits, is required in order to bring him to take his place again.

/167 cont./

764 787 761 The bearers are changed and the interrogation continues, still as confused as before. Captain Tafanié, who arrives in the midst of all this, thinks that the dead woman does not want to speak in front of such a large crowd. He asks her to designate which of the people present will form a small group. I see the front of the coffin stop in front of an old Saramaka named Yasu, then successively in front of about ten of those present of various ages and origins. They stand up, take their little benches in their hands, and go to join Tafanié under a large tree in a spot to the side; the interrogation resumes; by nightfall a sure fact has been established: Way was killed by a god. They will resume the next day in order to find out what god is concerned and how to appease him.

764 [114] Notes taken at the funeral ceremonies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) October 22-23, 1956 (2nd and 3rd days after death).

I arrive at Asisi on the 22nd at eight o'clock. Kotoïda died on the twentieth; the first part of the ceremony has been finished.

[692] It is Tafanié, head of Papaïsiton village, who presides over the Mnti kuutu.

Tafanié himself has directed the making of the coffin (he is a kisimã) with the help of boards held in reserve on the spot. The work was finished at nine o'clock in the morning.

The body was placed in the coffin immediately, and after the presentation of the pieces of cloth, the wings were nailed. /168/

When I arrive at the wharf, the coffin is placed in the mortuary shed. The near relatives of the deceased (sons, daughters, and nephews) as well as the husband and the co-wife compelled to take part in the mourning are seated in their hammocks attached to the posts of the shed. The first-mentioned manifest no apparent sorrow whatever. Husband and

/168 cont./

764 co-wife, on the contrary, are completely veiled and show by their state of prostration the keenest sorrow. Each of them is assisted by a female relative who supports them when they have to move somewhere else, for they are supposed to be too overcome to move alone.

764 787 761 The interrogation as to the causes of death has already taken place the day before, but Tafanié proclaims, in front of me, the result of it to the latest arrivals: the deceased was struck down by a *yɔrka* which pursues the lineage with its *kunu*. She had already received several warnings in the form of illness; the *yɔrka* had demanded a payment which she and her near relatives had neglected to furnish. Impossible to learn anything further before being able to interrogate this *yɔrka*, whose habitual bearer has left for Saint-Laurent. It is necessary to wait for his return in order to mollify the *yɔrka*'s anger.

764 769 778 [613] About ten o'clock the members of the *lanti kuutu* go toward the *fraga tiki* of the Awara Bakka *lo*, in front of which they all sit down on their stools. I notice that not a single man of the dead person's lineage appears in the front row. In it I recognize Popo (Lapé), Poopu (Dipélu II, Kormotibo), Tafanié (Papaïston). The one who is speaking is a foreigner passing through, a very aged and respected Djuka.

[782] The elders invoke Masa Gadu and the ancestors in general, asking them to protect them from adversity in the future; then the offering of water and tafia takes place (no cane juice). I notice that a little is poured on each of the secondary *fraga tiki* erected for the sake of each one of the ancestors who pursue another lineage with their *kunu*. That lasts about a quarter of an hour.

764 787 776 428 424 Next someone goes to ask the deceased to whom she bequeaths the *Papa gadu* god which manifested itself in her; for the gods are bequeathed like the rest of the inheritance, even if those concerned are divinities which exercise the *kunu*

/168 cont./

764 787 776 428 524 against the lineage. The god ratifies this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men: Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bearers help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

[613] [621] .. /. L. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awara Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

764 787 776 428 /169 cont./
They will be paid when the gita has been "arranged," that is, has lost the bestial character of the beginning and when the god can express itself in intelligible fashion.

764 789 789 There and then they busy themselves with transferring the god out of the body of the deceased. An ɔbiaman well known in the cult of the Papa gadu, Goutu (Dju) and his pupil Balan (Aw.B.) come with calabashes containing infusions of leaves. Four or five women having a Papa gadu come and line up behind them. The heiress, with an extremely vexed air, takes her place among them, clothed with the emblems of the god of the dead woman; they are going to call their gods who will dance in honor of Kotoïda's god.

The ɔbiaman and his pupil for several minutes trickle the infusion of herbs over the coffin, using packets of herbs like sponges, then they "wash" the women, including the postulant; he gives them the rest of the calabash to drink. One of the women, Samabun, falls immediately to the ground, attacked by the lowest form of possession: she drags herself on her belly like a snake (these are the first forms of the gita when it has not yet been "arranged." In her case that has lasted four years, contrary to what ordinarily happens. The scene was certainly anticipated, for she had put on European panties. The other women also drink but are not possessed; they leave to dress for dancing.

[534] The agida drum taken out of the god's chapel begins to beat, accompanied by two apinti.

The female bearers of Papa gadu arrive at the sound of the agida, smeared with pemba and carrying /wearing?--Tr./ the insignia of the god. Six come in all. They are not in a state of possession; only two will reach it. The first possessed woman keeps crawling on the ground, gropingly approaching the drum which she embraces, lying on her back. It is torn away from her. The ɔbiaman continue to come to "wash"

764 787 789 [586] /169 cont./
her from time to time in order to help the god to manifest itself. The crowd presses around the women dancers who execute the greatest variety of figures. At times they embrace each other two by two in the Boni manner. The onlookers jump for joy.

The scene lasts about half an hour, then, at the signal given by one of them, the possessed ones scatter and begin to run through the village: this is the moment for the gods to pay the musicians. Each person rushes to hide his belongings, for the gods will steal anything in the village without anyone being able to prevent them: this is their way of paying.

Soon the possessed women come back, putting down at the feet of the musicians a heap of incongruous objects: /170/ calabashes, cloth, paddles, etc., which their owners come to recover by means of bottles of beer and eggs. Then the women who were truly possessed come back to their normal state and all go home.

This dance was not a success; those present think that it is because the women bearers had drunk tafia, which the Papa gadu detest.

764 787 428 Inheritance. The dead woman is asked to whom she bequeaths her clearings. She answers: "To her family," this being understood because the bearers move parallel to the people present without designating anybody. Under these conditions the property must be distributed (Kotoïda having no children) among her classificatory nephews. Actually, the plantations still farmable will go to Samabun, her sister's daughter.

[591] Inheritance of the house does not come up, for the dead woman lived in her husband Empalé's house.

The boat is left to Samabun.

Held back are the personal objects, money, jewelry, fabrics. When the mourning is lifted, the eldest of the surviving brothers or sisters in the classificatory sense will make the distribution among the near relatives.

/170 cont./

428 613 It is very clear in Kotoïdi's case that the inheriting is within the matrilineage in the strict sense, bɛɛ. Only the members of the Afi lineage to which she belonged can profit by it.

764 Burial. About 2:00 P.M. the women of the lineage who had been preparing the food for the ɔlɔmɛ since morning leave by canoe in the direction of the cemetery.

At three o'clock the last preparations begin. The occupants of the mortuary shed, completely veiled and supported by their near relatives, go to take up positions at the wharf for the last farewells (for they will not go to the cemetery).

The coffin is carried through the village one last time. This is the farewell of the dead woman to her family. The objects used in mourning are carefully collected, the earth of the shed floor raked up wherever the sanies of the cadaver might have fallen, and the whole put on the papay which is placed on the mortuary bark.

[775] At three o'clock an apinti drum is placed on the wharf to call the dead person (it is obviously a question of preventing the yorka from remaining in the village). The dead person turns up at the wharf. The coffin passes over a freshly cut banana-tree trunk placed at the limit of the village and of the beach. This is the symbolic passing of the dead person out of the world of the living. It is put on the canoe while the lamentations of the near relatives resound. The scene is not lacking in grandeur.

[783] The canoe draws slowly away, the drummer in the bow, while the spectators go down in a long procession to wash themselves free of the defilement of death.

[769] At four o'clock they arrive at the cemetery. The bearers of the dead person who have taken places in the canoe pass their burden to the ɔlɔmɛ who have come to the edge of the river. This to mark the fact that /171/ the ɔlɔmɛ are in authority at the cemetery. The bearers will only be present at the ceremony.

/171 cont./

764 The women who had come to carry the food of the *ɔlɔmɛ* go away, thei[illegible]k finished. Only two of them, not especially old, remain.

[789] We arrive on a little separated space where a last interrogation takes place. It is Antonu, head of the *ɔlɔmɛ* of Asisi who speaks, while Tansia (Dipélu I) and Tyolo (Dju), *basia* or party-head of the *ɔlɔmɛ* of Asisi serve as bearers.

764 787 The dead woman is asked for instructions as to the choice of the men she designates as *busimɛ* (hunters, fishermen), intended to procure the food for the guests on the day of the *broko dɛ*. The coffin advances successively toward six men. Each one of these asks: "Is it really I?" I see the forward bearer, his eyes strangely fixed, nod in their direction.

764 At four o'clock we arrive in front of the grave, about 100 meters from the riverside. It is dug with neat edges; it is about 2 meters deep, 2 meters 50 long, and 1 meter wide. It has the trapezoidal shape of the coffin.

A bench is cut in half with a blow of the machete to make two supports placed in the bottom of the grave.

The coffin is lowered to the bottom by means of the cloth ropes which enclosed it. These ropes are then pulled back up. Several shots are fired. Not a word is spoken. About ten thick round logs about 20 centimeters in diameter are placed side by side on the grave and the earth thrown over them. The *ɔlɔmɛ* work with the shovel and hoe; the pile of earth rapidly reaches a meter in height.

Then the head of the *ɔlɔmɛ* stops the work. He passes over the grave several times, jumping with feet together. Next, passing the bundle of cloth ropes several times around his legs, he addresses the *akka* of those present, admonishing them not to stay in the hole.

/171 cont./

764 Work is then resumed. Those present who are not ɔlɔmɛ, including me, are invited to throw several shovels of earth. On top of the mound are placed the papay and the objects used in the mourning, topped by the dead woman's bench. Then those present go away without haste and wash at the wharf. Several shots are again fired while the canoes go away.

The graves are spaced about 10 meters apart. The dead are not grouped by lineages; the cemetery is extended as needed, and the dead person is put in the first available spot. Thus Kotoïda (Awara Bakka) is placed beside Asoïda (Lapé), a hundred-year-old woman dead a few months before.

They show me the graves of village heads I have known, Diolé († in 1951), Atikati († in 1953). The mounds are already half settled down, the brush on them is as much as a meter high.

[769] One of my boatmen pours a little tafia on his mother's grave which is at the edge /172/ of the path. None of those present leaves the group to go to the grave of his relatives.

[692] Thanking Ceremonies. On the twenty-third at eight o'clock, the lanti kuutu is convened and sits at the edge of the mortuary shed.

[769] The ɔlɔmɛ and in a general way those who have worked on behalf of the dead person (only about ten remain, the others have left to work) are seated opposite the men of the dead woman's lineage.

It is always Tafanié who speaks. Béna (Dju), seated before the ɔlɔmɛ, turned toward the speaker, plays the role of respondant. Tafanié thanks all those who have worked on behalf of the dead person, detailing at length the various jobs, then citing their various lineages; he repeats the same thing in several ways and his speech is interminable. Sometimes he

[293] interrupts himself to put in a good joke or drink a bumper of

[415] tafia. A 15-liter demijohn is seen circulating inside the shed.

/172 cont./

764 578 Suddenly an incident erupts. Baafu (Lapé) insinuates that Agidibon (Aw.B.) is helping himself immoderately. Insulting words are exchanged. Agidibon leaves the council. General commotion. The tumult calms down after a quarter of an hour.

764 The speaker now thanks the foreigners passing through, Saramaka and Djuka, who helped at the obsequies.

764 787 [965] Someone puts down on the ground a paddle on which is attached a bundle wrapped in cloth. It is the dead woman's paddle, and the bundle contains her hair. It is kept until the broko dɛ (it seems, in fact, that this is the reason for this celebration) in order to keep contact with the dead woman's yɔrka for the further questions people might have to ask it (1).

> 1. It seems that on this point custom envisages especially the case of near relatives of the dead person traveling on the river at the time of the death, and who could not be present at the burial.

Then, several ɔlɔmɛ will go to the cemetery to bury the bundle inside the mound.

The spectators go toward a shaded spot, for it is near noon and the sun is overwhelming.

Sosoman carries the front of the paddle and Tansia the back. Without any question at all being asked, they circulate in the village for a long time. Several times I see them make contradictory movements, nod their heads forward and sideways at the same time.

Here they are back again near Tafanié. To my great surprise Tafanié asks questions in a low voice, cupping his hands in front of his mouth.

/*172* cont./

764
787 Several times the paddle is seen to answer affirmatively, then negatively. Not one of those present can understand what is said, but not one shows impatience or doubt.

[613] Suddenly Tafanié orders his assistants to cut rods: the dead woman has asked that the people of her own lineage be beaten, guilty of having neglected the *yɔrka*'s warnings. On seeing these preparations the people of Kotoïda's lineage /*173*/ run away in confusion in every direction while their adversaries pursue them with the appearance of having a very good time. Some take refuge in the water, others in the bush; none whatever can be caught.

Completely symbolic punishment, moreover, for at the end of ten minutes they are seen to reappear and take their places again among those present.

764 The obsequies are ended. Only the deceased's near relatives stay seated in their hammocks under the mortuary shed. They will remain there until the *broko dɛ*.

764
767 Payments of the *ɔlɔmɪ*. The *ɔlɔmɪ* divide up one lot of cloth, keeping track of what they have received in the preceding obsequies. That does not appear to cause any discussion. If, after this, someone who has not furnished any work wants to take one of these pieces of cloth, he may do so by offering tafia to the people present.

766
787
775 *Funeral ceremonies for people who die while traveling*. If a man dies in the course of a distant trip, they take from the cadaver before burying it his hair and fingernails, which are brought back to his native village; in fact, it is assumed that as long as a fragment of the body is not buried, the *yɔrka* remains attached to it; hair and fingernails will therefore permit the interrogation of the *yɔrka* and will be buried in the cemetery with the usual rites.

/173 cont./

764 *Broko dɛ*. The eighth day after death, a ceremony called *broko dɛ* takes place, not to be confused with the lifting of mourning. This ceremony marks the end of the burial rites proper; when it is ended, the dead person can no longer be questioned directly; the period of mourning begins.

[613] It is a very simple ceremony which attracts few people and happens almost entirely within the lineage.

[538] At nightfall they begin to relate Anansi toli, those traditional tales which make the audience vibrate together and [535] create a special atmosphere. Then come the *sɛ̃nge*, *susa*, and *awasa* dances which last all night.

764 769 The next day each one busies himself at small jobs in the village while the women prepare the meal. This is the ceremony called *towɛ nyã*, which takes place at the edge of the mortuary shed about four o'clock in the afternoon. Each woman of the lineage brings a large bowl of rice and a small bowl containing either a piece of meat cooked in sauce or some fish. The oldest man of the lineage has large banana leaves spread out on the ground at the edge of the shed; he takes a little of each dish and puts it down on the leaves, while at the same time addressing the ancestors in ordinary language in the tone of an intimate conversation: "Dead of the family, come, come to eat today."

That lasts perhaps a quarter of an hour, while those present are seated, immobile and meditative. The ancestors are supposed to eat the spiritual part of the food -- *kaaka fu nyã*.

Then the elders line up at the edge of the shed five or six small children of about ten years, each one of whom holds a basin upside down. A man keeps them in line /174/ with the aid of a long stick. Then, at a signal, he lifts the stick and the children dash headlong with laughs and shouts toward the ancestors' portion, each one carrying away all he could cover [613] with his basin. The ceremony terminates with a joyful meal eaten together by the whole lineage, symbol of the communion between the dead and the living.

/174 cont./

764 Cemeteries. There are two cemeteries in Boni country: one on the lands of the Dikan lineage for the people living on the French bank, the other downstream from Kotika for the inhabitants of that village. They are ordinary places which nothing indicates from the bank, for they are covered like the rest of the country by secondary forest. The dead are buried there in graves aligned parallel to the river, about seven meters apart. The dead are placed with heads turned toward the river. No separation by lineage exists within the cemetery.

The graves are not marked by any decoration, and at the end of about ten years, the mound having settled down, no trace of the burial remains.

[769] The graves are never cleaned. Only the ʔlamɛ heads, who have received special instruction, know the graves of the principal chiefs and the boundaries of the cemetery.

769 [754] [775] The Boni never go to the cemetery alone and do not make offerings on the graves of their near relatives. Someone who would frequent the cemetery alone would be suspected of being a wisimɛ seeking to capture the yɔrka of a dead person.

764 487 Even if they are right near the villages, cemeteries are never connected directly to them by paths, and the dead are transported by boat. By proceeding thus they hope to isolate the villages from evil influences.

766 [761] [784] [184] If someone dies by drowning, he is buried away from the cemetery. According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, among the Djuka all drowned persons are supposed to have been victims of a kunu; the Boni do not have this conception and declare that they have lost the meaning of this custom; one notices, however, that they observe mourning for the drowned according to the usual rites.

/174 cont./

764 Children are buried with the normal ceremonies only from about the age of six on. The rule is the following: A child is buried in the cemetery and broko dɛ is done for him if the next child of the same mother is beginning to walk.

766 [828] [775] Young children are buried without a coffin at a special site on the edge of each village; a board is simply placed on the body before filling the grave. They have the idea that very young children have no vital force, and that their yɔrka cannot do any harm. /Fig. 25 appears here./ /175/

Mourning

764

After the burial the wives of the dead man (or the husband if it is a woman), the nearest relatives on the maternal side, as well as the children, sojourn eight days more in the mortuary shed, until the broko dɛ.

765 [831] [776] [771] From then on the obligations of mourning are limited, for the near relatives of the dead person, to abstaining for a year from dancing, wearing jewelry or too fine clothes; it goes completely otherwise for the spouse of the dead person; the Refugee Blacks indeed take for granted, like the Creoles of Surinam, the persistence of the sexual jealousy of the dead person, whose yɔrka is thought to remain in contact with the living for a year.

State of the spouse in mourning. The principle is that the surviving spouse, until the lifting of mourning, is subject to the will of the dead person. In order to materialize that in an obvious way, he cannot, during this whole period, wear his usual clothes but must dress exclusively in pieces of cloth appropriated for him from among the ones the dead person possessed, or given by the nearest maternal relatives of the dead person.

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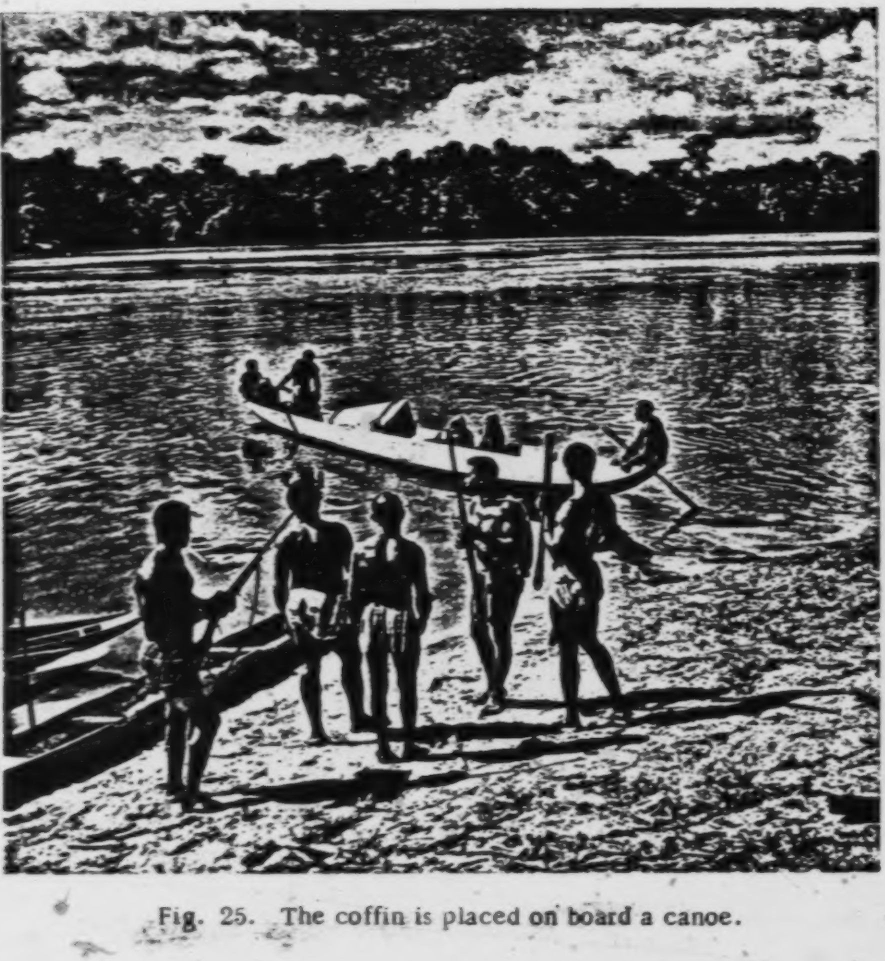

Fig. 25. The coffin is placed on board a canoe.

/175 cont./

765 For the duration of the mourning, any indiscretion of the
775 surviving spouse will draw upon him the pitiless vengeance of the yɔrka; it is important for him to make himself forgotten, to have a modest and decent demeanor. The dead person might be vexed with him for having kept his health and good looks. So they try to give the surviving spouse the aspect of a miserable
765 and unfortunate being. The dead person's relatives are par-
775 ticularly interested in having this discipline observed, for in
613 the opposite case the dead person's yɔrka would turn back its vengeance against his own lineage. During all the mourning the whole lineage considers itself in danger. So custom requires that during all this period the widower (or widow) be placed under the authority of the dead person's lineage.

765 In the case of concubinage, mourning is taken on by the
584 spouse even if the relations have not been made official. People cite the example of Way (Boniville) who assumed mourning for a Djuka with whom she had begun to live before he could propose to her officially.

765 State of persons in mourning. A widower's state is exactly like
[775] that of a widow, which tends to show that in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the dead, men and women, have the same level of being and the same power over the living.

765 The surviving spouse is placed under the protection of
769 the ancestors of the dead spouse's lineage. Without this pro-
613 tection insured by the prayers of the members of this lineage,
[628] he would find himself defenseless. The proof of it is that the
[784] principal sanction against him is to lift the mourning prematurely by going to the fraga tiki to tell the ancestors that one is no longer interested in him. That amounts indirectly to cursing him (see below the example of Gamba).

/175 cont./

765
613 The spouse in mourning is taken temporarily out of his lineage and placed under the /176/ /Fig. 24 appears here/ /177/ protection of the lineage of the dead spouse, in a situation corresponding to that of the client in ancient /Roman/ society.

[769] He can no longer pray to his own ancestors. If he is sick he asks the elders of the dead spouse's lineage to pray for him to their own ancestors.

765 A man in mourning is freed from certain obligations and responsibilities:

--He cannot take part in a council of his lineage;

--If there is a squabble between his lineage and another, he cannot be taken to task;

--Part of his catch may not be appropriated in case of great nivrée;

--He is freed from his funerary obligations as an ɔ́lɔmã or kisimã.

765
602
613 A man in mourning is placed under the collective authority of his wife's lineage, but actually under the authority of her near relatives: mother, grandmother, real uncles and aunts. It is real kinship which is involved in matters of mourning; classificatory kinship enters into it only if all the near relatives are dead.

In general it is old women of these near relatives who are charged with watching over the behavior of the widower and on the other hand with seeing that he does not lack anything he needs.

For example Alémin (Aw, B. 1) was married to Yundu (L2, G60) of the Lapé 2 fraction, living in Loka village. When she died in May, 1957, he was put under the authority of Asakundu (L2, E55), his wife's grandmother, and of Asakundu's sister Térésa, living in Boniville. Since he had not yet built a hut

[768] for his wife, he was enjoined to come specially to build himself a little hut in Loka village in order to reside near Asakundu.

[Text Continues on P. 269]

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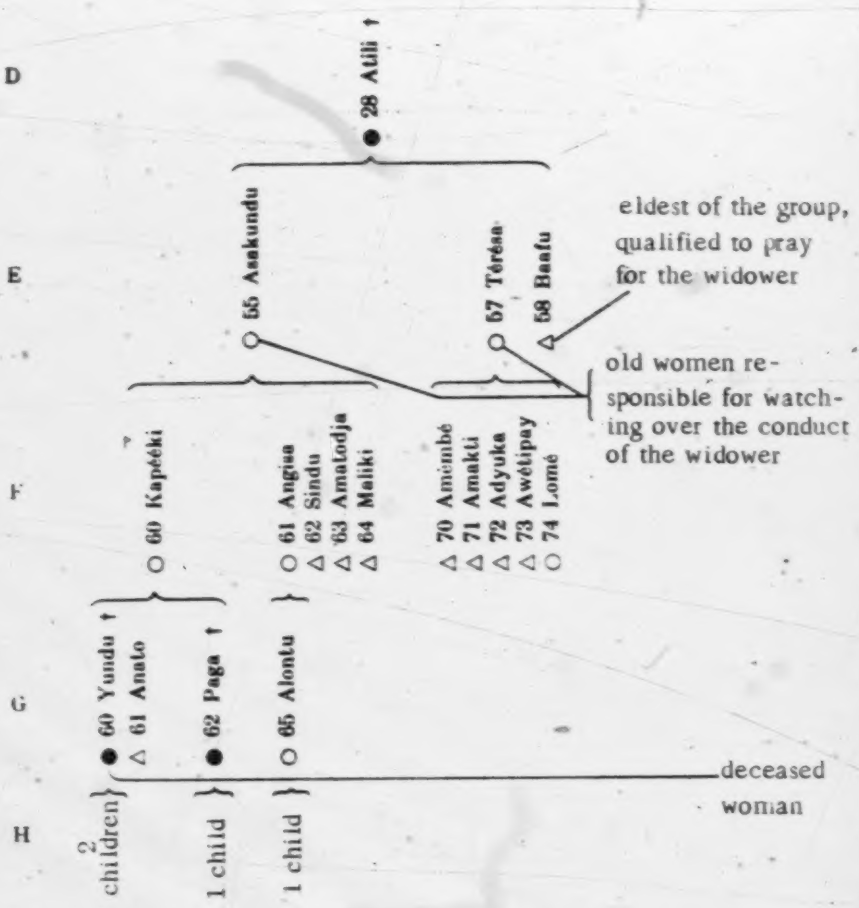
D
E
F
G
H
28 Atili †
55 Asakundu
57 Téréaa
58 Baafu
60 Kapéêki
61 Angiaa
62 Sindu
63 Amatodja
64 Maliki
70 Amémbé
71 Amakti
72 Adyuka
73 Awétipay
74 Lomé
60 Yundu †
61 Anato
62 Paga †
65 Alontu
2 children
1 child
1 child

eldest of the group, qualified to pray for the widower

old women responsible for watching over the conduct of the widower

deceased woman

Fig. 24. Genealogy of the Lapé 2 fraction. Functions resulting from Yundu's death.

/177 cont./

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613
If he was sick, it was △ Baafu (L2, E58), the eldest of the group, who was to pray for him. Alémin had nothing to do with the head of the Lapé lineage nor with his wife's classificatory uncles of the Lapé 1 group.

As for Diamanti (Aw.B.2, E56, † in 1955), her husband Booki (K3, E133) spent the mourning in the house that Diamanti had had constructed for her by a former husband. It was ○ Emma, Diamanti's mother, and Sanéti, Emma's younger sister, who kept him under watch, under the responsibility of △ Akodo, the dead woman's brother (all the actual uncles being dead). Booki had nothing to do with either the classificatory uncles nor the head of the Awara Bakka lineage.

When Atuku (Aw.B.1, D20) died (1956), her husband Nétali was put under the authority of Kondoku, Atuku's brother, all the uncles in both the real and the classificatory sense being dead.

765
[775]
The submission that this mourning entails must not be considered as symbolic. It bears down on the surviving spouse with an intolerable weight which can be borne only because of the conviction that it is the sole means of protection against the dead person's jealousy. Not only does the widower (or widow) do nothing to free himself from it, but at the least indisposition he will add, of his own accord, to the harshness of his state.

765
613
The widower can no longer use his clothes and personal utensils; he keeps /178/ his hammock and gun. All the rest, clothing (appropriated for the mourning), various utensils, is furnished him by the dead woman's lineage. Each woman of this lineage must give him a little of what she prepares. He himself must not ask for anything.

/178 cont./

765 He cannot go anywhere without the authorization of his watchers, and only for a specific purpose. For example, when Alémin found work with a European in October, 1957, the two old women who were charged with looking after him came to deliver him to his employer like a prisoner, making it clear in particular that they were forbidding him to disembark in such-and-such villages where he had nothing to do.

Alémin was authorized to be present at the mourning for his mother, but he did not take part in any of the ceremonies at all. He was not present at the interrogation of the dead woman carried in her coffin, and was not informed about the arrangements made for dividing up the inheritance.

765 768 A man in mourning does not necessarily live in the hut he has had built for his wife, but in a hut designated for him. He may (this is Alémin's case) be invited to build a small hut which, at the end of the mourning, will become the property of his mother-in-law.

When the house has been bequeathed, the heir may take possession of it only if the spouse has not received orders to reside in it. Only at the end of mourning does he enter fully into possession of his rights.

765 [769] A man in mourning may not go out of his house after nightfall, particularly on nights when people dance after having called all the ancestors. He would have everything to fear from the yɔrka.

He may circulate in the village and speak to anyone he wishes, but must not joke or be present at any festivities whatever, not even to hear tales. Not only may he not pay court to a woman, but it is still forbidden for him to make discreet overtures, even through an intermediary, with an eye to remarriage.

/178 cont./

765 He may not walk around stripped to the waist and bareheaded; Alémin used to wear permanently a horrible jersey and a holey beret.

765 He may neither dance nor sing (even alone). If he has a
787 gadu, this gadu is called and invited not to go to the head of its "master" for the duration of mourning. The doyen of the lineage of the party concerned pronounces this adjuration.

However, a reservation exists. If someone absolutely needs to consult this god, the widower is asked to remove his mourning clothing and put on his own clothes for a few hours. The consultation takes place in private inside a hut; then the mourning resumes.

765 He observes the basic interdiction (bwasi kina) of the dead woman in addition to his own.

He must absolutely spend the yali festival (New Year's Day) with the dead woman's family.

Such are the principal obligations and interdictions which rule over the life of a man in mourning, during a period of at least 18 months, which may even be prolonged up to two years and more (at the end of 1958 the mourning for Yundu, † in May, 1957, was still not lifted, and Alémin did not expect to be freed from it before the spring of 1959).

These obligations are aggravated still more during the first three months by special provisions. /179/

During these first three months, the dipi baaka or deep mourning, the man in mourning must keep an attitude of the most acute sorrow. He leaves the house assigned to him only for indispensable work, and does not go away from the dead woman's village; he remains with his eyes lowered, not looking directly at anyone except members of the dead woman's family. Usage used to require him to lean on a stick like an exhausted person, but the present grand man has abolished that custom.

/179 cont./

765 After three months, an offering is made at the fraga tiki
[769] of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse
[778] has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the
[613] manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened,
but the man in mourning continues to wear a bandeau around
his head or at the very least an old beret.

765 During the first months the man in mourning has no other
461 responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead
[613] woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given
to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another
woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him.
[431] Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary
for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the
lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning
he must report on his work and moves.

765 When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job
[606] for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the
roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction
[626] whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks,
they rest entirely upon fear of a suprahuman sanction.

[587] After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may
remarry without further delay.

765 State of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a
768 woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower.
[562] She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's
house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal
[613] side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she
[439] needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene,
soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the
produce of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since
it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive
property of the wife.

/179 cont./

765 Before coming out of mourning, the widow must procure
431 for herself at the minimum the money necessary for a demijohn
of tafia as a contribution to the festival of the lifting of mourn-
[606] ing. She must make a present of several cans of couac to her
husband's mother.

765 A pregnant woman undergoes mourning exactly according
843 to the general law. The custom described by several authors
184 for the Saramaka, according to which the pregnant woman must
join one of her husband's "brothers," does not apply to the Boni.

765 There are some attenuations of the harshness of mourning
888 with respect to old women. For example in 1956, Lémiki
(70 years), living in Boniville, was in mourning for her husband
Tabiki (Awara Bakka, but residing since childhood with the
Lapé lineage in Loka /180/ where he had been raised by his
[768] father). Lémiki alternately spent three weeks in her house and
[602] three in her husband's. It was Asamani, Tabiki's sister by the
same father, who exercised authority over her.

765 This remarkable example shows that as regards mourning
768 (rights and duties), the principle of residence plays an essential
[613] role. He who has been reared by his father is in this respect
taken out of his lineage, which loses all rights and all control
over the conduct of the mourning.

765 The co-wives of a widower are subject to mourning on
[775] the same grounds as he, and for the same motive, since they
are targets for the jealousy of the dead woman's yɔrka.

[768] However, they are authorized most often to live with their
maternal family. When the period of dipi baaka has ended,
765 they may take up conjugal relations again with their husband,
833 but at intervals of several weeks and without his being able to
spend the night with one of them. Each time he must ask per-
[613] mission of the head of the dead woman's lineage.

/180 cont./

765 *An incident*. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old),
613 Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing
689 several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on
the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was
raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the
Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder
brother, reproached him for having left without authorization,
pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his
authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba
[578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This
[769] was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came
[778] before the *fraga tiki* of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourning forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing
[784] him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's
yɔrka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of
Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time.
[629] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his
[769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the *fraga tiki* to
[778] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 *Lifting of mourning*. The festival of the lifting of mourning
- *puu baaka* - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the
burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the
village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the
same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as
much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the *village*
and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same
way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he
lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/180 cont./
765 are divided up equally among all the inhabitants of the village.
But if the dead person had near relatives in the village, children,
nephews, or brothers, it is they who stand the main burden.
[613] Members of the dead person's lineage who are settled in other
villages contribute equally to the expenses and the organizing
of the festival, but in a symbolic fashion. /181/

[623] A council (kuutu) of the village inhabitants sets the date;
765 during the two weeks preceding each one is busy. The women
262 hull and winnow rice, prepare great quantities of couac and
sugar-cane juice. The busimã scour the bush and have meat
and fish smoked. Each one, according to his means, buys tafia,
sugar, chocolate, and other articles of food liked by the
Refugee Blacks.

765 The celebration of the rites occupies a whole week. This
775 is because, the Refugee Blacks think the influence of the dead
person can be eliminated only progressively by the repetition
of the rite of separation.

The first day, the yɔrka of the dead person whose mourning
is going to be lifted is called by formulas beaten on the
[535] apinti drum. Then possession dances take place.

765 The second day is reserved for the material preparation
for the ceremonies to follow.

[613] The third day, the spouse in mourning, if there is one,
is conducted by the members of the dead person's lineage under
[822] the mortuary shed. He is dressed in red and is congratulated
for having kept the mourning well. Then he is led to the river,
[783] and old women of the dead person's lineage begin to bathe him
[775] while adjuring the yɔrka to part company with him.

The fourth day at nightfall, all those present assemble
at the mortuary shed. They recite tales (Anãsi tɔli),
[538] improvisations (mato), and riddles (ɔdo). This phase of the
[781] festival has as its object the concentrating of the attention of
the hearers; it creates a warm, collective atmosphere which
impregnates those present, bringing to them intense and highly
colored emotions.

/181 cont./

765 Next come the dances, always in the order sɔ̃nge, susa,
535 awasa, the rhythms given on the apinti drum. These are not
533 possession dances and do not appear in themselves to have a religious meaning; all involve choruses in which the singers do not accompany themselves on any instrument at all; these songs have no other meaning than to exalt life; the Refugee Blacks find their best artistic expression in them. Many of them demonstrate dazzling imagination; the subjects are extremely varied, and every year new ones are created. But there is a certain number of "classics" which reappear in each festival. Let us mention: "The man who calls his dog lost in the woods"; "The song of the Balen River"; "The woman who watches over her daughter," etc. These songs are very beautiful, and in the great mourning festivals it is difficult to hear them without emotion. Songs and dances follow one another without interruption until the sun's return. This is what is called broko dɛ, "break a day." This ritual, which has a key value in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, appears to be the affirmation by the group of the triumph of life over death.

765 The fifth day, a kind of buffet is served to the guests under the mortuary shed. In the afternoon there is the offering
[769] of food to the ancestors, tɔwɛ nyã; this rite is a communion between the dead and the living.

[769] On the morning of the sixth day, the ceremony ends with the offering of water, celebrated not at the fraga tiki but at the edge of the shed, in honor of the ancestors. They invoke one
[775] last time /182/ the yɔrka of the dead man (or the dead woman), while asking it to separate from his spouse for good and to leave her in peace! "U puu a umã a baaka; yu ãŋga umã yu paati tidɛ, na: mu siki, na: wã sani mu ɖu ɛ̃ŋ, a mu dɛ bũ. (We lift the mourning of (this) woman; thou and the woman, you separate from each other today; she must not be sick, nothing must happen to her, she must be well)."

/182 cont./

965 Then they address the dead person in the name of the people of his village: "We have done with thee, stay there where God has placed thee."

The spouse in mourning is again bathed in the river by old women who have themselves gone through mourning.

[969] [975] Then they address the yɔrka of the ancestors and the entities of the Beyond who are imagined to have come in a crowd: "Ala sani di kɔm ya, yu mu luku ala ãŋga bũ; u kaba ãŋga yu; yu sa: waka ala peesi; (Each one of the beings who have come, be benevolent toward us all; we have finished with thee, thou canst go anywhere)."

On the seventh day most of those present begin to leave. An intimate ceremony brings the dead person's near relatives together in the very house where he died. They weep and lament one last time. Then a last offering of food is made in the same house, and they repeat the adjuration: "We have done with thee; stay where God has placed thee."

[968] [613] [431] The eighth day, the spouse whose mourning has just been lifted is conducted solemnly back to his village by the people of the dead person's lineage. He is congratulated, he offers food and drink to all those present. What he might have had left of savings disappears on this occasion.

He must sleep three nights in his village, still without being able to have relations with a woman. When this time limit has gone by, he comes to give back the red clothes which the dead person's lineage had lent to him. Only then is he free.

[114] Notes taken in Boniville in November, 1957 on the occasion of the lifting of mourning for Béniti. This festival is given for the lifting of mourning for ○ Béniti (Dju, E5, living in Boniville, † in 1955 at 75), of △ Tito (Kotika, Boniville, † in 1955 at 15), and of △ G..., boy of ten, son of a woman of the village of L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I), dead in Boniville where he was reared by Térésa. The festival is given more than two years after death. Sometimes, when there is no spouse subjected to mourning

/182 cont./

765 (which is the case here), they wait still longer in order to be able to group the lifting of mourning for several dead people from the same village in a single ceremony. The unfolding of the rites shows that much more importance is attached to Béniti than to the two young boys; in fact, the ceremony is devoted almost exclusively to her.

765 621 613 [829] The mourning-lifting ceremonies in Boniville are particularly interesting, for this village includes members of five different lineages. The distribution of functions and duties allows one to better understand the thought of the Boni relative to social organization; the principle of residence plays the determining role. The ceremony takes place in the village where the dead people lived, whatever their lineage was. The burden of organization is divided up about equally among all the inhabitants of the village. The /183/ members of the lineages of the dead people living in other villages are present at the ceremony, but their contribution is much less important.

765 [251] On November 8 (day called busimã kɔm) at noon, the festival begins with the arrival of the buchiman who, the week before, had caught and dried fish for the festival.

The buchiman are put under the authority of ∟Tofioto (K). They are all volunteers (one who would excuse himself from rendering this service would lay himself open to being abandoned alone on the day when he would have to bear the weight of mourning for one of his near relatives). The main weight of mourning is borne by Boniville village. The people of the principal fraction of the Dju (Asisi village) furnish a rather large contribution as regards time spent fishing but symbolic as to the furnishing of tafia and imported foods.

[226] [251] [621] [613] These buchiman had been at work since October 25, catching and salting fish:

765 /183 cont./

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	for Boniville	for Asisi-Dju
251 Fintiman 621 Kiémenti Doni 613 Alibi	sons and grandsons of Béniti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old
4 young men of the Kotika lineage		4 to 5 adolescents
1 — Dip. 1 —		
2 — Lapé —		
1 — Papaïston —		
2 — Poti —		

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

765 [531] [411] The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Boniville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new camisas. The hurrahs resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

/184/

765 [535] The buchiman execute the kwadyo dance, which seems to be an African war dance; they hold a stick in front of them and make the gesture of taking aim.

That lasts about half an hour.

The guests continue to arrive individually and settle themselves around the mortuary shed, seated on their little benches.

765 202 About three o'clock the drums begin to beat again. It is Bukuman, master of the art of speaking with the drum, who strikes the summons' formulas; the others give him the cue.

The drum speaks for a long time (1). An elder translates

> 1. It is more a question of conventional formulas than a language; two different sounds can be obtained from the drum by striking respectively with the fingers and with the palm.

for me approximately: "Other villages, be still, for there is a great festival in the grand man's village."

"We who are now living, we are going to do what our ancestors taught us long ago."

765 [551] Then the dead for whom mourning will be lifted are directly addressed, being called by name if they are men; for the women like Béniti, who cannot be called directly, for women do not have a drum-name, they call one of their deceased near relatives, here Diolé †, Béniti's brother: "Tell thy sister that we are going to part company with her, for we have been in mourning for her a long time and this is the custom, such as the ancestors did before us."

[769] "Ancestors, come, come near us, we are going to pour the tafia and cane juice for you."

[202] (Libations are made within the shed.) Then the drum addresses those present:

765 /184 cont./

[202] "You who with *ɔbia* so that the machete will not cut you, so that the broken glass will not wound you, what are you waiting for? You remain seated, are you afraid?"

765 786 787 At these words, several of those present stand up and begin to dance, seeking the trance of possession. Some run into the village and come back running, carrying banana-tree stalks. Others drag thorny spathes of *awara*; two brandish an old, demolished boat.

The drum furiously beats the rhythm of Kumenti. Part of the dancers, taken hold of by a furious delirium, jump and [824] prance about. Certain ones take thorny spathes of *awara* (2) under the arm or pass them around the neck.

Part of those present are taken hold of in their turn by trances, including people of mature age and serious character like Fintiman, who is carried off in a faint.

Two possessed people, a man (Ernest, Kotika) and a woman (Awini, Boniville), smeared with *pɛmba*, are subject to extraordinary contortions. Ernest breaks a bottle over his head with such force that the pieces fly several meters. Both /185/ dance on their knees for an appreciable length of time (but the next day Awini will come to have herself cared for). Those present manifest frenzied joy.

765 535 534 About five o'clock the *sɔ̃ŋgɛ* dance begins. Three *apinti* drums are placed at the west wall of the shed. The orchestra is completed by an old overturned boat which seven to eight men strike with sticks.

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2. Thorny palm (*astrocaryum vulgare*) whose sharp thorns nearly 10 centimeters long are particularly formidable. It is impossible to pick up an *awara* spathe with bare hands without hurting oneself.

/185 cont./

765 [535] The figures are almost similar to those of the awasa dance, except that the dancers move forward stamping with the left foot.

[533] Songs follow, but entirely covered by the drum and without great musical interest.

Second day, Nov. 9. Day called puu dɛ ("a day is withdrawn"). No rite is performed on that day. Each one is busy with his occupations. The women pound and winnow rice.

Third day, Nov. 10. Day called lolo mata "the pestles are rolled." That day they carry to the edge of the mortuary shed pestles, wood for heating, and everything necessary for the preparation of the next day's food (1).

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1. When there is a spouse in mourning, it is on that day that he is brought to the mortuary shed by the dead person's lineage, congratulated, and clothed in new garments red in color.

Fourth day, Nov. 11. Day called poti ala sani na a krɛy ɔsu ("to put all things into the mortuary shed").

About two o'clock the young men who have been to cut wood for heating come back in boats decorated with pennons, in the midst of hurrahs and shots.

At three o'clock the basia circulate in the village, calling the women who appear from all sides carrying heavy baskets of cassava.

The provisions prepared for the festival are brought to the [293] edge of the shed. Many of those present have brought a bottle of tafia. The basia collect all the tafia in large demijohns. In all there will be six demijohns of 15 liters of tafia and as much cane juice.

/185 cont./

765 About eight o'clock in the evening, people assemble
538 around the mortuary shed where the drummers and mato
(Anansi Toli) storytellers sit. Amèmbé, of Loka village, be-
gins to tell a story which is scarcely listened to, the audience
remaining noisy and distracted. The respondents punctuate his
discourse with approbations: "hiya ba! na so!" At several
[522] passages of the story (when Anansi has succeeded in deceiving
his victim), the audience shakes with laughter, the drums beat,
the storyteller and his respondents sing and dance. Little by
little the audience warms up, participates intensely in the story.

Another tale follows, told by Adiiso, head of the Dju
lineage (Asisi). The audience is overexcited, the interludes
[535] of dancing become more and more numerous and longer,
everybody, men, women, and children take part in it.

About eleven o'clock the dances are going to begin in
765 the order susa, sɔ̃ŋgɛ, awasa; at six /186/ o'clock in the morn-
[535] ing the next day the awasa dances are carried on. Part of those
present go down to the wharf to go home, showing no apparent
fatigue.

Fifth day, Nov. 12. Nothing happens in the morning. The people take some rest.

At 3:00 P.M. the young men go around dressed up to the nines; people visit each other from one house to the other, they drink and sing.

765 About 3:30 the basia circulate in the village, calling the
262 women to bring the ceremonial meal. Tables are set out under
264 the shed. The women each bring a big bowl or basin of cooked
rice (about two kilograms of rice). Some add a bowl of sauce
or cooked fish. No meat.

The basia lay out all that on the tables. There are about 30 bowls or basins (which represents a handsome effort, the rice harvest having been bad), about 50 bottles of soda, several boxes of pastries /biscuits/ and Dutch cheeses.

/186 cont./

765 264 [613] Fintiman directs the ceremony. He divides all these dishes without distinction of origin into several lots, one for each lineage.

[515] All the guests go down to the wharf to wash in the river, then put on new clothes before participating in the ceremonial meal.

[613] The people of each lineage go to eat on their side; a bowl is carried to the people in mourning, like Alémin, who remain confined at home. But the near relatives of the three dead for whom mourning is going to be lifted take part in the ceremony.

765 About four o'clock the women are seen to appear again, carrying a small bowl of rice accompanied by a little fish and peanut sauce. They put them down on the ground at the edge of the mortuary shed.

Banana leaves are arranged at the edge of the shed (north wall, on the side facing the river).

The elders, seated on their little benches, gather together in a half circle. Fintiman and Bukuman take a little from each bowl, spread it out on the banana leaves. They call by name the dead for whom mourning is being lifted, Béniti and the young boys Tito and G..., speaking to them in a familiar conversational tone as if to living people whom one invited to eat.

Several persons come to eat a little of the food.

At 5:00 P.M. Fintiman has five small boys of five to seven years line up, each provided with a basin, in front of the food spread out on the ground. At a given signal they rush forward, each one carrying away what he could cover with his basin. They leave a little of it, which will stay there all night. The next day the left-overs from the buffet prepared for the living will be added to it.

/186 cont./

765 In the evening the young people dance in front of the houses of several men who have given the tafia, but that no longer has the character of a ceremony. All is over at eleven o'clock in the evening.

On the sixth day, Nov. 13, at seven o'clock, the elders assemble again in front of the /187/ banana leaves where a little of the food offered the day before remains (dogs and chickens have eaten part of it).

A long palaver begins, disconnected and disconcerting, whose purpose escapes me. The clearest thing coming out of it is that the captains make known what the grand man (absent from the ceremony) told them in the morning. They thank the grand man for this festival which has gone off without any incident; they say that they can be counted on if some mourning rises in another village.

[291] [535] [177] Todo makes apologies to the grand man because the young people were dressed in a new style (large loincloths /calimbés/ reaching to the ground) and danced several Creole dances. He says to the audience that this does not conform to custom and that the true Boni dances are sɔ̃ŋgɛ, susa, awasa.

Next Fintiman pours water gently on the banana leaves, calling the dead whose mourning is being lifted. "We pour water for you, watch over the people in your family, over the grand man and over those who have worked for the mourning, that they may be in good health, that nothing bad happen to them. We have done with you; stay where God put you."

765 775 [768] While pronouncing these words, Fintiman breaks his dead mother's bench and dish (for the dead boys, nothing had been brought). It is a question not only of marking the break with the living but of procuring for the dead woman what will be necessary for her in the Beyond. For this purpose a paddle is also broken, which her son Klémenti prepared for her, and calabashes prepared by her daughters.

/187 cont./

765 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Béniti had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then those present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

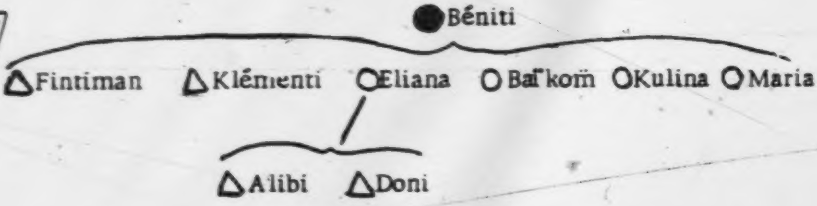
[602] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Béniti's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Béniti. Division of expenditures. Béniti belonged to the fraction of the Dju lineage settled in [613] [621] Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Béniti left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[601]



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular [431] resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

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	Fintiman	Klémenti	Alibi	Doni
10-liter demijohns of tafia . .	4 = 14,800 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr	1 = 3,700 fr
Cases of soda (1,000 fr.) . .	4 = 4,000 fr	3 = 3,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr	1 = 1,000 fr
Dutch cheeses	1 = 1,000	nothing	nothing	nothing
Boxes biscuits	2 = 1,800	---	---	---
Sugar, kilograms	10 = 1,000	---	---	---
Sugar cane	3,000	---	---	---
	25,600 fr	6,700 fr	4,700 fr	4,700 fr

/188 cont./

765 431 Nearly half of the tafia was brought to the mortuary shed to serve for the dances, the other half was distributed to visitors in the course of calls of personal interest that they were coming to make on the village people at home.

Béniti's three sons-in-law each gave three liters of tafia.

[613] The Boniville men belonging to other lineages each gave one liter, except the two principal basia (assistants to the grand man for the internal running of the village), Todo and Tofioto, who gave two liters each. Besides, each one kept one or two liters to offer to callers at their homes.

[613] As for the men of the Dju lo of Asisi, they brought one liter each, including the head of the lineage.

All the Boniville women and all the women of Asisi-Dju brought their contributions in the form of food.

In all about 150 adult visitors came.

765 273 One can estimate that about 200 liters of tafia were drunk, or a little more than a liter per person, which, for five days of festivities, is not enormous.

But since some drink very little, one can estimate that those most given to drunkenness drank up to three and four liters.

Inheritance

428 613 The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to all that might divide the matrilineage, cannot accept the notion of a single heir entering into possession of all the property of the dead person and replacing him in his functions. This idea of the only heir considered as a substitute for the dead person, as it exists among the Bamiléké, which leads toward the individualization of one line within the lineage, can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Refugee Blacks.

/188 cont./

428 [613] In the custom of the Refugee Blacks, the inheritance must be dispersed among the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the strict sense (bɛɛ) and his children. /.../ /189/ The custom of numerous African societies has it that the men inherit from men and the women from women. This notion is totally contrary to the legal thought of the Refugee Blacks. A house, an object, a boat, may pass from a man to a woman or conversely. It is the same with the lower gods with which the dead person might have been possessed.

428 789 764 If the dead person has not indicated before his death, in front of witnesses, the distribution of his property, the same divinatory procedure is used as for the determination of the causes of death: the coffin being carried on the heads of two men, in front of it are lined up the members of the dead person's matrilineage in the restricted sense and his children. The president of the lãnti kuutu asks: "To whom dost thou leave thy house?" The coffin moves toward one of those present, then: "To whom dost thou leave thy boat?" "To whom dost thou leave thy gun?" "To whom dost thou leave thy clearings being harvested?"

428 The partial heirs thus designated may enter immediately into possession of their legacies.

428 765 Reserved are what the Boni call the "equipment" of the dead person, that is, his personal belongings, linen, money, which will be divided up after the lifting of mourning.

The customary rule is the following:

[602] For the duration of the mourning, these objects shut up in a trunk are put under the care of the eldest child if a woman was concerned, of the eldest classificatory nephew if a man was concerned. 428 602 After the lifting of mourning, the distribution is made by the dead person's mother, if she is still alive, if not by the eldest of the classificatory uncles or aunts, and if they all are dead, by the eldest of the surviving classificatory brothers or sisters of the dead person.

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428 Example: When △ Atikati (Dju, E18) died in 1953, about 75 years old, his house went to his sister Adyidya (E19), his gun to Kéwẽnu (G10), his boat to his classificatory sister Aliki (E23), aged 85.

[602] Upon the lifting of mourning for Atikati, it was Aliki, by reason of being the eldest of the surviving classificatory sisters, who distributed his personal belongings and his money; for example, an iron bracelet went to Sosoman (E14) (1).

1. See the genealogical table of the Dju lineage.

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602 By seeing the division of this inheritance on the genealogical table, one realizes that classificatory kinship is not a useless word and that in fact, within the matrilineage (bɛɛ), the division is made strictly at random, without consideration of sex, age, or proximity of kinship, which is strictly normal, given the divinatory procedure used.

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602 An analogous conclusion comes out of the study of the inheritance of gods; the Papa gadu god of the ancestress ○ Sapiké (D5) passed into Pamasa (E26), her kin in the seventh degree. Likewise the god Ampuku of △ Agoabuchi, passing from a man to a woman, went /190/ to Dabisa (G45), his kin in the tenth degree at least (Agoabuchi could not be placed with certainty on the genealogical table). The Kumẽnti god of △ Antinon (D9) went to Achiké (F13).

428 Study of the inheritance of houses leads to analogous conclusions.

The only case where a certain systematization is seen to appear is that of inheriting from women having adult children. It seems (but this is not a legal principle) that these children receive the essential part of the inheritance.

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428 178 A tendency which has appeared during recent years in connection with men consists in bequeathing during their lifetime the essential part of their property to the children they have raised.

613 [787] Inheritance of functions and powers. Upon the death of a lineage head, the yɔrka of the dead man is asked whom it wishes to see named. Then the council assembles to proceed with the nomination; it remains free in its choice, the will of the dead man beyond the grave does not have the force of law; but actually, it seems to be most often followed.

As for the function of captain which is common to all the fractions of one lo, the inheritance may pass from one fraction to another.

Ex.: for the Awara Bakka lo, the succession:
Asèmbay (Aw.B.2);
Pèèyon (Aw.B.1);
Kondoku (Aw.B.1).

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CHAPTER VII

BELIEFS

Origin of the Beliefs of the Refugee Blacks

771 128 The spiritual life of the Refugee Blacks of the Guianas is intimately bound up with their social life, and the division we are obliged to make for the sake of clearness of the account is very often arbitrary. So we shall try to point out these connections wherever they are essential.

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771 194 What constitutes the religion of the Refugee Blacks is a synthesis of elements originating with various peoples of West Africa, especially the Ashanti, Agni, Mina, and Fon and also Congolese elements. [619] This synthesis seems to have been born among the Saramaka, the first tribe formed at the beginning of the 18th century, and to have been adopted thereafter with modifications of detail by the Djuka, tribe created about 1760. The Boni, the last tribe formed, probably received these beliefs during the time of slavery which they spent under the tutelage of the Djuka, from 1815 to 1860. [184] [178] The beliefs of the Boni and those of the Djuka have an identical base; the rites and their effects on social life are exactly the same. Nevertheless, the Djuka, almost ten times more numerous, have been able to keep very differentiated conceptions and specialized cults, involving priests in the literal sense of the term.

The Boni have kept only the essentials, and many conceptions, especially the myths which serve as support for the whole tradition, are very much blurred among them.

829 The Boni like to imagine that Africans constitute only one nation, and that they have inherited in a lump the traditions and social forms of this nation. They know now (especially from having seen a good deal of the Senegalese riflemen of the 1937 French mission) that numerous tribes exist, but that has not shaken the veneration they have for Africa, source, for 178 them, of all knowledge and all strength. However, almost nothing of the culture peculiar to each one of the great tribes has reached them; no name of an African nation has remained in their memory, and /192/ none of the languages of their land of origin has been kept (1); everywhere the vehicular language

[193] 1. One observes, however, that a certain number of disconnected details of African life have come down to them by oral tradition;

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[173] /192 cont. /

thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽgwana).

[648] imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to con-
177 serve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

[182] 2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can
judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must
[178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

/192 cont./

771 171 [177] This is precisely what constitutes the great interest of the Refugee Blacks' religious forms, which one finds again, besides, in large measure, mixed with Christian ideas, among all the Blacks of South America. They seem to point out a very important common background of conceptions common to the West African civilizations.

771 174 184 It is certainly not by chance if the various tribes of Refugee Blacks have adopted such close social and religious forms. One must assume the action of several strong personalities who knew, with an almost superhuman instinct, how to sift out from the jumble of beliefs brought by the rebel slaves what was necessary to the life of the new society; but this new religion would not have taken root in forms so stable and so coherent if all had not been intimately conscious of being in agreement on a minimum of common concepts.

It is important to observe that the Refugee Blacks, who borrowed most of their techniques from the Indians and Europeans, remained rigorously faithful in their beliefs and rituals to the African substratum, from which they drew a homogeneous and [177] living whole. Although the beliefs of the Indians are known to them in their main lines, they have borrowed almost nothing from them; on the other hand, it is certain that vague Christian recollections influenced the conception they have of the supreme god, Masa Gadu, and their moral and religious law. But they have been introduced into an African system of thought, and in fact the beliefs which directly influence individual and social life come in a straight line from the African earth.

772 [171] Metaphysical conceptions. Through the rituals of the Refugee Blacks appear /193/ metaphysical conceptions very comparable to those which have been noted in the populations of West Africa.

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772 The Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as distributed on several levels:

--The creator god;
--Lower gods;
--Ancestors;
--Men;
--Animals;
--Plants and inanimate things.

To each of these levels corresponds a level of life and a level of force (kaakiti). A higher force may act on a lower force, but not the reverse.

771 One may say that the cults of the Refugee Blacks have as their goal to capture the vital force of the gods and the ancestors and to bring it back to the level of men, giving them strength, luck, and fecundity. To thus increase one's vital force can be defined as good. Evil (negative magic, wisi) is, on the contrary, to capture the vital force of another man in order to increase one's own.

754 The idea that one has wisimã is that he uses a higher force (especially an ancestor's yɔrka) which he has succeeded in capturing by magic and in subjecting to his will in order to dominate someone else. Reduced to his own strength alone he could do nothing.

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[772] The magic of the Refugee Blacks might allow one to believe that they think they act directly on men through the medium of plants to which magic virtues are attached. This would be a grave error; in their minds, animals and plants are placed at a lower level absolutely incapable of acting on man by itself. Plants are thought to act only insofar as they appear capable of attracting, of holding like storage cells, the vital force emanated from the gods.

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778 824 A currently widespread idea about animism would lead one to think, for example, that before felling a tree a Refugee Black addresses words and offerings to it. That is entirely absent from his thought: either this tree is likely to serve as support for a god, in which case it can be touched only after complex rites having the aim of transferring the god elsewhere, or it is simply a tree, and one cuts it down without further ado.

784 825 One very clear aspect of these conceptions is the dagu kunu, a curse resulting from the killing of a dog. Any animal may be killed with impunity but not a dog, because "a dog is almost a man."

[613] At the opposite extreme from the true kunu, a curse extending to a whole lineage, the dagu kunu applies only to the guilty person and draws only limited misfortunes upon him.

[772] No feeling whatever with respect to the dog enters into this conception, but only the idea that he is placed on a particular plane, near the plane of the human and his level of force.

776 /194/ The Great Gods

The Boni recognize a supreme God, Nana (1), more commonly called Masa Gadu, and Kedi Amu, Kediampon in Kumenti language. He created the lower gods and all that lives on the earth.

773 Here is how the old Boni men relate the myth of the creation of the world:

God created a brother and sister, Adam and Efa. They were twins. He put them in a place where they lived happily without working. But he forbade them to touch the fruit of the custard-apple tree.

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1. This term comes from the Agni.

/194 cont./

773 One day, the devil came in the form of the serpent dagowe. He told them: "Eat the seeds of this tree and you will know all things like God himself."

Adam allowed himself to be tempted and ate a custard apple, he had Efa eat some of it. He found this fruit good and said: "God had deceived us." His heart changed, he ceased looking at Efa as a sister and united with her. She became pregnant.

Some time afterward, God came upon the earth and saw what had happened. He said to Efa: "Thou shalt bear a child in pain." And to Adam: "Thou shalt eat only what thou hast harvested by the sweat of thy brow." He gave him a stone axe and told him: "Go on the nearby mountain; thou wilt find the seedlings of what thou wilt have to plant henceforth in order to feed thyself."

Efa had two twins whom she again called Adam and Efa, and other children. From these children all men have descended.

[177] [845] This Biblical myth, transposed into the African way of thinking, explains the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks concerning twins. It was two twins whom God created first. Twins are beloved of God and share his nature.

776 The idea most generally accepted among the Boni is that Masa Gadu is the source of force from which all living beings derive theirs; men are connected with him through their ancestors.

It happens that Masa Gadu may intervene directly in the lives of men, and in such a case he acts necessarily according to justice, without any magic whatever being able to protect the guilty one. But in most cases he does not intervene, showing himself in that way to be as arbitrary as the lower gods.

776 /194 cont./
[184] The great gods Gwangwéla and Gédéosu of the Djuka are
not known to the Boni.

[794] Strictly speaking, no cult of Masa Gadu exists. No
edifice is reserved for him, he has no priests, and no collective
776 ceremonies are conducted on his behalf. He is nevertheless
769 constantly present in the religious life of the Boni, associated
with ancestor worship. Every ceremony of ancestor worship
776 includes an invocation to Masa Gadu. From time to time, for
769 specific motives such as the illness of a member of the lo,
755 people go /195/ specially to the fraga tiki to invoke Masa Gadu.
[613] The oldest man of the lo officiates, while a younger one pours
[778] a little water and tafia at the foot of the fraga tiki; the elder
addresses Masa Gadu in everyday language, in simple terms,
in a familiar conversational tone, asking him for the cure of
illnesses or the end of calamities. Those present, seated in a
semicircle, punctuate the end of the speech with some rhythmical
applause, uttering the ritual formula of thanks: "Gaã tãŋgi
tãŋgi fi yu, Masa Gadu."

776 Outside of these ceremonies which hardly go beyond the
782 framework of the lineage, everyone may address Masa Gadu
directly by praying aloud, if, for example, he finds himself
alone in the bush and prey to an illness. One never addresses
Masa Gadu other than for a specific material purpose. Inner
prayer for the purpose of spiritual perfection does not exist to
our knowledge among the Refugee Blacks.

776 One applies directly to Masa Gadu when one believes
[755] oneself to be the victim of an iniquitous action (see curse). How-
ever, although the Refugee Blacks have a very lively sense of
[784] justice, they never call Masa Gadu to witness for the cruel and
arbitrary vengeances (kunu) which the lower divinities are
[812] believed to exercise on them. It is taken for granted that all
these divinities do conforms to the role which Masa Gadu has
assigned to them and that the suffering they inflict on men is
indispensable to the proper working of the universe.

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794 [181] The laws of Odun. The cult of Odun (Odũ) is the keystone of the social and religious structure of the Refugee Blacks. It is a very secret cult; its rites are not practiced in the presence of outsiders and all curiosity about it meets with frank hostility. [123] The Boni, who talk rather freely about the cults of possession, are mute on the subject of Odun, and one may spend years among them without even hearing this name uttered.

794 184 The worship of Odun is common to the Boni and the Saramaka (perhaps this is what explains the trustful relations which exist between the two groupings). Among the Djuka it is replaced by the worship of Gwangwéla (Grantata), which has exactly the same functions and rites.

776 Odun is not to be confused with the creator God Nana (Masa Gadu). The myths explaining the relationship of these two entities were not known by our informants, but it is clear that Odun was sent to men by Masa Gadu as legislator and judge.

671 Odun's laws have a profound originality, as much by their content as by the sanctions which accompany them. It is not excessive to speak of a religious and moral doctrine of the Refugee Blacks.

[641] These laws appear in negative form. A certain number of acts and behavior are forbidden to those who have entered the society of the Refugee Blacks by taking an oath which binds 784 them for good and all. Offenders will be punished without the direct intervention of men, by the all-powerful action of Odun, who will kill them or /196/ strike them down with sicknesses. As a general rule, Odun's punishment is death; this is what explains the fear his name inspires.

673 [754] Odun forbids:

--Sorcery, wisi, in the most general sense, that is, any magic action having as its purpose the killing, making ill, and in a general way doing harm to another person.

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673 --Vengeance; if someone believes himself to be the
[754] victim of witchcraft, he must under no circumstances engage
[627] in counterwitchcraft or invoke his ancestors against his enemy. He may ask only for the protection of the *ɔbia*. It is Odun who
[784] will avenge him by sooner or later killing the evil-doer.

--Violence in any form whatever. It is regarded as a
[683] particularly serious offense against the laws of Odun to strike with an armed hand and to make human blood flow (1).

[684] 1. That explains the strictness with which the society of the Refugee Blacks limits the right of punishment granted to the wronged husband, who must strike only with bare fists in front of witnesses, never in the bush
[826] nor on the river. Fear of seeing human blood flow explains the
[952] reticence of the Boni toward minor surgical operations.

[641] --Any attack on personal liberty by material or moral
[586] coercion; in particular, neither a man nor woman may be constrained to remain in a marriage which has ceased to please him; nobody may be forced to reside here or there.

[832] The forms of magic so popular among West Indians, aimed at capturing a person's love, are for this reason rejected by the Refugee Blacks and considered as a form of *wisi*.

[769] --Any evocation of the spirits of the dead, even to ask them for protection, other than in the public ceremonies
[754] provided for by custom. Thus nobody must go to the cemetery to pray alone on his parents' grave. Whoever would do that would immediately be considered as *wisimã*.

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784 Odun's punishment is not regarded as immediate. It may be delayed for a certain number of years for reasons known to him alone, but it will necessarily take place.

683 783 Violence can be pardoned if the guilty one repents and makes an offering. The reparative offering (for example, if someone has threatened his adversary with a machete or has struck him to the point of making blood flow) is a demijohn of tafia or a certain quantity of tobacco leaves displayed in Odun's chapel.

754 784 But there is no pardon for the wisimã. Even if men pardon, Odun remains pitiless. Thus nobody can admit being guilty of wisi, for there is no possible reparation; besides, no one would dare beg for Odun's mercy on behalf of a wisimã, for this would be to associate oneself with him and expose oneself to being struck by the god in the same way.

[683] [766] The wisimã will be killed by Odun, and men will have to share in the punishing by refusing the body burial in the cemetery and by going to throw it in the bush. If they /197/ refused to obey this law, Odun would consider that they denied his doctrine and would strike them down either in person or by killing any member of the guilty lineage.

Thus, when in 1952 an old woman named A... of the Lapé lineage, who had settled in the Creole village Hermina, died, it appeared that she had wisi; but since she had been living among the Creoles, her near relatives did not dare intervene, and she was buried in the Hermina cemetery. Several
[613] years passed without incident, then misfortunes cropped up; deaths which took place in the lineage, especially that of P... (1955) and T... (1957), and an accident that happened to a child in 1958, were recognized as punishments carried out by Odun upon the Lapé lineage.

346 The place of worship of Odun is a tiny chapel near the grand man's house. It contains only a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust, without any decoration.

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788 The rites of the worship of Odun are known only by the
[843] grand man and by an old man who replaces him when he travels.
[854] They are practiced only on the occasion of the collective oath
against *wisi*, renewed every two or three years, and when it is
[783] necessary to implore Odun's mercy toward an offender. The
officiant bathes the latter's body with a maceration of leaves
that he alone knows.

783 To question Odun and know whether he pardons, they
787 make use of a sacred object named *afalaku*, placed on a board
[778] put on the heads of two men. The answers yes and no are
deduced by interpretation of the movements of the bearers,
as in the interrogation of the dead.

695 The oath before Odun is also practiced as a legal test, permitting a man unjustly accused of theft or any misdeed whatever to justify himself.

Thus, in November, 1959, B... of Asisi, accused by two Djuka of being responsible for the burning of a large cabin /*carbet*/ in which objects of value were stored, asked to justify himself before Odun.

671 Odun's laws, which have the effect of forbidding violence,
771 vengeance, and every form of oppression, give to the society
571 of the Refugee Blacks a unique atmosphere of dignity and
serenity which is not found to the same degree in animistic
African societies. Most African societies censure sorcery and
murder, but they accept vengeance and various forms of
oppression. It is probable that the men who, two or three
centuries ago, deep in the forests of Surinam, developed these
laws, were inspired more or less consciously by Christian
ideas; but they introduced them into an African system of
thought, associating them with the idea of *material sanctions
in the present life*, without which they would have been powerless.

/197 cont./

B S 648 S 771 Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Surinam, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

B S 771 648 The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Surinam, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

B 167 754 [782] [613] If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisimã upon their death. This was especially the case with an

/198 cont./

167 old woman of 90, A..., who died in Asisi in January, 1957.
754 Having lived with Creoles in her youth, she had come back to live in her native village for at least 30 years and had never given occasion for any unfavorable remark. Nevertheless, upon her death it appeared that she had wisi.

771 Attitude toward Christianity. The Refugee Blacks, who are
829 acquainted better than one might believe with the conceptions
177 of the populations in the midst of whom they live, have a clear feeling of the relationship which exists between their metaphysical and moral conceptions and those of Christianity. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a com-
[777] pletely different way but just as sound. They have no animosity whatever toward the Catholic and Protestant clergy, and most of them agree willingly to wearing crosses or medals. But they have not the least intention of abandoning their beliefs for that. They do not perceive the contradiction and do not understand that people might want to oblige them to choose.

851 Like the Creole gold miners, they attach great importance
171 to baptism, considered as an obia protective against the dangers
165 of the bush. On Christmas, 1957 they were strongly impressed
797 by the accidental death of a Djuka Christian living at the Kotika school. He refused to observe mourning for his wife
[688] according to the custom of the Refugee Blacks, and used to go
[273] to drink in the cabarets of the Creole villages. On Christmas evening, when drunk, he drowned himself. That was attributed
[784] to a suprahuman punishment. We heard /199/ the following reflection on this subject: "He was baptized and he drowned himself just the same. That is therefore not worth the trouble."

61 Actually, the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks
581 and their conception of marriage form an irreducible cleavage,
571 which appears immediately as soon as one leaves the metaphysical conceptions to pass to the plane of practical living.

/199 cont./

581 The Refugee Blacks change their attitude immediately as soon as one speaks to them about marriage. Men and women are unanimous in considering marriage as an intolerable violation of individual freedom and as a tie without purpose; they talk about it with veritable indignation, even having the feeling of an offense against morality.

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Cults of Possession

[171] The phenomena of possession are extremely frequent among the Blacks of America (possession by saints or inspiration by the Holy Spirit among the Blacks of Brazil and the United [771] States, voodooism in Haiti). With the Refugee Blacks they make up the very base of religious life to the point of being the normal means of communication between the gods and men; they have profound effects on all social life.

The cults of possession practiced by the Refugee Blacks of Guiana differ from those of the Blacks of Brazil and Haiti and do not appear to be directly connected with the African cults which have been described.

[128] We shall give here only very concise information about the ritual of these cults and we shall mainly try to show their place in relation to the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, and their functioning.

787 Possession is believed to be the entrance into a man of a suprahuman entity (divinity, spirit of an ancestor) which, during a variable length of time generally rather short (a few minutes to several hours), uses the body of this man and expresses itself through his mouth. They say that the man has become the horse - hasi - of the divinity. They also say: "Such-and-such a divinity entered his head." The possessed person is called [114] gadu mã (gadu umã for a woman). This word has been translated improperly as "priest" in the first works treating of the Refugee Blacks.

/199 cont./

787 [171] The phenomena of possession exist among other populations of the Guianas and especially among the Amerindians, but among the Refugee Blacks they have special and well-defined forms.

--For the duration of possession, the ordinary consciousness of the man is totally abolished. When he comes back to himself, he no longer remembers anything and the others present [191] have to repeat to him what the divinity revealed. This total loss of consciousness during possession appears to be a very constant phenomenon with the Blacks, in Africa as much as in [114] America. Professor de Goeje calls attention to the fact that the Indian medicine man, on the contrary, does not lose /200/ consciousness during his trances and is supposed to receive, himself, the revelations of the spirits.

When a man is possessed by a divinity, in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks he is no longer there; what his body may do is not attributed to him at all. They say: "The gadu does this, says that, dances in such a way." If the gadu hurt someone (but that practically never happens) or broke something, its bearer would not have any responsibility.

787 198 [776] --The divinity expresses itself in a language peculiar to it; we shall see further on that there are four categories of divinities likely to become incarnate in men, which corresponds to four secret languages of which in practice only two are known by the Boni, at least by the oldest among them.

The bearer of the divinity, in his usual state of consciousness, knows in general this language, which he has learned from a teacher if it is a matter of a possession desired by him and obtained with the help of definite practices.

But there are also numerous cases of unprovoked possession (in the kunu especially) and people state that in this case the divinity speaks its language just as well, although its bearer has never learned it;

/200 cont./

787 --Possession is manifested by kinds of trances called gita or k3mfo, of a varying nature according to the divinity concerned, which sometimes involve phenomena of insensibility and acts impossible to perform in a normal state;

782 --The first time the divinity enters a man, it imposes
a kina (interdiction) upon him which will henceforth be the
776 sign of his function. This is what is called a gadu kina. This
784 kina varies from one divinity to another, but in principle a
given divinity imposes the same kina on its divers bearers.
The divinity names itself and indicates to its bearer a means of
calling it back in case of need: make such-and-such gestures,
scatter such-and-such a liquid or powder.

All that is recorded by those present who reveal it to the person possessed when he has come round.

It is taken for granted that the god protects its bearer as
long as the latter respects the laws of its cult and observes its
kina (in the opposite case the god may punish him cruelly).
787 Conversely it is assumed that the man has a certain power, a
776 certain right over the god who possesses him. They say that he
789 is the master of it, masa, word which is habitually used in the
sense "to be the owner of." At his death he can bequeath this
428 god in the forms and according to the laws regulating the inheritance of property. Of course the god is capable of not ratifying this decision, and it is free to manifest itself in anyone it wishes. But they affirm that in most cases it follows docilely the choice of its bearer. We shall see that this inheritance of gods plays an essential role in the functioning of the kunu.

787 Apprenticeship for possession. What goals does a man pursue
181 who desires thus to have a gadu? Above all he seeks strength.
To succeed in life, to be protected against his enemies, to be respected: Such are the goals generally pursued and openly recognized by the Refugee Blacks who "have a gadu."

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181 One also often finds as an avowed goal the idea of being useful to his lineage.

Disinterested mystical impulses appear totally absent from these cults.

787 But that is only one aspect of the phenomena of possession;
154 they really seem to be, in large measure, unconscious and
involuntary. Everyone can try to obtain a gadu, but everyone
787 does not succeed; one must have a certain predisposition.
79 [154] "One cannot oblige a gadu to enter a man," say the Boni; it
certainly seems, in fact, that in nearly half the cases possession
takes place spontaneously and sometimes to the great terror of
the person concerned: this is observed especially in the kunu.

[776] Mimi, a woman about 46 years old in 1958, of the Kotika lineage, was possessed by two gadu, an Ampuku and a Papa gadu. Here is how her near relatives relate the fashion in which they came into her.

[158] About ten years before, Mimi was showing signs of mental derangement. Her mind wandered, she sometimes used to leave the village to run in the bush at random, she uttered disconnected words (1). Then she fell very ill (pleurisy?).

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[828]
[171]
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1. It is necessary to note on this subject the very widely held idea among the Refugee Blacks, as among the Creoles, that certain forms of mental imbalance are due to the action of an entity which is trying to manifest itself in a man and does not succeed. In order to cure this man, he must be "washed" with appropriate leaves so that the god can come to manifest itself in him; the rest of the time he will be normal.

787 /201 cont./
791 The elders then consulted the oracles and perceived that Mimi
776 was victim of an Ampuku named Maogan which for a very long
[613] time had been pursuing the Kotika lineage with its vengeance
[784] (kunu). In order to protect herself, she sought to have herself
given a more powerful god, and she became the pupil of an
obiaman specialist in the cult of the Papa gadu. In this way she
[782] had a Papa gadu named Ayaémé, divinity of beneficent character
to which, in difficult cases, her family applies in order
[346] to obtain advice, protection, and remedies. She had a little
hut built beside her house, where the god goes to rest when it
has finished each of its trips to the country of men. Ayaémé
[784] imposed on Mimi its kina which concerns a fish. But even with
all this she was not rid of her kunu of the Ampuku; and one day,
something it had not yet done, the latter revealed itself in her
[784] and spoke through her mouth. It announced that it would continue
[782] to exercise its kunu against the Kotika lineage. They appeased
it by sacrifices of red cloth and beer; since then, it
seems calm and in rather good humor. It comes into Mimi from
time to time and speaks in Saramaka language. They are very
afraid of it, but they do not hesitate to question it and ask it for
remedies, which it sometimes indicates. It laid on Mimi three
[784] gadu kina concerning the acouchy, the agami, and the
armadillo.

791 Organization of the cults of possession. Strictly speaking, no
787 religious brotherhoods exist in Boni country; there are only
794 teachers - bas(2) - who have received their power from another

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2. It does not seem advisable to translate this word by "priest." In the minds of the Refugee Blacks, this is a matter of a teacher teaching pupils; they use the same word to designate a European or Creole schoolmaster.

/201 cont./
791 teacher and who teach a small group of disciples - kineki -,
787 without distinction of villages or lineages and under their sole
[794] responsibility; each one, man or woman, is absolutely free to
pursue his teaching.

/202/These teachers are not themselves possessed, but they are
believed to know the processes which permit the neophyte to
obtain possession with the minimum of risks. They accept the
[776] fact, however, that that involves dangers, for one cannot oblige
a particular gadu to come into someone, and one may in its
place obtain an undesirable gadu.

791 Procedures vary according to the categories of gadu sought.
787 But they involve three elements which are always found in one
776 form or another:

--They begin by teaching the pupil the language of the
[198] divinity, or rudiments at the very least (as we shall point out
further on, these languages appear to be in decline); these
lessons are private;

--On behalf of a group of pupils, the teacher prepares
[824] infusions of certain leaves which are suited to the divinity in
question. It is thought that the god likes these plants and that
they have the power to attract it.

In certain cults it is required of the pupil to utter at the
[788] same time formulas inviting the god to come into him. But
this is not general; in the cult of the Papa gadu especially, the
teachers bathe the students in the greatest silence.

791 At the end of the session, the student is often asked to
787 drink a little of the infusion. One might believe that it is a
824 matter of a process having a physical action, certain plants
possibly containing hypnotic substances; but except for one
aspect of the cult of the Kumēnti of which we shall speak later,
this does not seem true; especially about the plants believed to
attract the Papa gadu, it seems that they have received this
role because of their color or odor. Our feeling is that, at least
[562] for the Papa gadu cult which appeals more especially to women,
suggestion plays an essential part.

/202 cont./

153 --Pupils are taught, individually or collectively, to dance
791 in the manner of the god. Indeed, each divinity has a charac-
787 teristic form of dance, which it executes sometimes by using
776 the bodies of its bearers when it comes into them. The pupil
535 must imitate as best he can the individual movements and the
[868] rhythm of this dance, while the teacher, using the appropriate
drum, beats out the calling formulas.

If the god is satisfied with the student, he will be able to come into him.

791 These exercises appear to have as their goal the creation
787 in the pupils of forms of conditioned reflexes; they have nothing
785 in common with the very harsh ordeals which the medicine man
153 of the Guiana Indians imposes upon himself, and do not involve
any form of asceticism. It does not seem that chastity, even
temporary, is demanded of the student, any more than fasting
or doing anything contrary to his inclinations.

787 The idea of a spiritual death and resurrection of the
791 possessed person, with all the ritual it entails: long reclusion
of the neophytes, change of name of the one possessed, who is
supposed to relearn all the activities of ordinary life, does not
appear to have been kept by the Refugee Blacks. In a general
[152] way, the atmosphere of solemn seriousness, /203/ of secrecy,
and of fear, which characterize the Dahomey cults of possession
is not found among them.

791 These lessons are always paid for and are even very
787 expensive. Payment is made in pieces of cloth, in demijohns
435 of tafia.

[436] Having a Kumēnti amounted in 1958 to at least 25,000
francs. This payment is not only compensation for the teacher;
[181] it is the mark of legitimacy. What has not been paid for is not,
for the Refugee Blacks, legitimately acquired. We shall come
back to this important point later.

/203 cont. /

153 Possession begins progressively; in the beginning the
787 divinity does not find in its bearer sufficient passivity, it does
791 not succeed well in expressing itself through his mouth, spectators observe only incoherent gestures and hear only unintelligible stammerings. The pupil must continue his training for a long time in order to become a suitable bearer.

787 The god, when it has just entered a man, always begins by rendering homage in its language to Masa Gadu, proclaiming that it acts only in his name and by his will.

[576]
[198] Then it greets those present, employing formulas which are the exact transposition into its language of the ordinary Boni formulas of politeness; that even if it is getting ready to speak to them in the harshest manner.

The god speaks then in its language, saying not very intelligible things to the audience that appear to be related to what goes on in its country, to its family (for it is believed that these lower gods have a family). Finally, it begins to speak in ordinary language in order to be understood by those present, and answers questions.

776 Various categories of gods capable of bringing on possession.
787 The Refugee Blacks assume that four categories of lower gods
825 exist:

The first category consists of a series of gods which present themselves to men under very different aspects but which are nevertheless felt to be of the same nature. All speak the Kumenti language, all are well disposed toward men and do not exercise against them the kunu, that is, the curse;

--The Kumēnti, which have the appearance of jaguars and live in the bush;

--The Djadja, which have the appearance of ocelots;

--The Opete, which have the appearance of the urubu and which reside in the air;

/203 cont./

776 --The Būnsuŋki, which have the appearance of Indian
787 women and which reside in the waters of the rivers;
825 The second category is that of the Ampuku, much feared
[784] gods of the bush, likely to exercise the kunu against men. The
[198] Ampuku speak a language which is very well known to the
Saramaka but which nobody speaks in Boni country. When they
wish to be understood, they speak the ordinary Saramaka dialect. They can, it is said, /204/ be seen at night in the bush
in the form of unknown men dressed in the manner of the
Refugee Blacks;

The third category is that of the Vɔɔdū or Papa gadu, gods
still more feared, which become incarnate in the boa snake
[198] dagowe. They speak the Papa language;

776 Finally, much feared also are the Kāntamasu, gods of
787 the termitaries, which speak a language which nobody under-
[198] stands and use the Kumenti language to make themselves understood.

It is important to note that there is not a god Kumēnti,
a god Ampuku, etc., as there was in the pantheon of the
Ancients a god Mars, a god Vulcan. For the Refugee Blacks
those are generic names like Frenchman, Englishman. Questioned
about a phenomenon of possession, they will answer: "It is
Ampuku who makes," but in the same way they would say in
front of a boat: "It is Saramaka who makes."

776 The relationships between these gods and their animal
787 form are obscure. For the Vɔɔdū it is clear that people believe
825 they really live in the dagowe snakes, since the accidental
death of one of these snakes in the burning of a clearing is considered a calamity which risks bringing a kunu. But that does
not prove that a divine character is attributed to the snake
itself. As for the Kumēnti, there does not appear to be any
precise bond between the genie and its jaguar appearance. If
one meets a jaguar, one may fire on him all the same without
inconvenience. If he is the support of a Kumēnti, the shot will
not be able to touch him, the god will not get angry about it.

/204 cont./

776 787 825 This shows that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, the animal is simply a prop for the god. The god borrows this body in order to manifest itself, but it is not bound to it by nature. These conceptions are totally contrary to those of the Indians, who tend to personify in their minds the beings and phenomena of nature.

776 787 As we have said, the Boni do not see these gods since the person possessed loses consciousness. But in the time of the ancestors, there were people who used to see the gods, and it is through them that their present-day descendants have an idea of their appearance; on the other hand, certain gods such as the Ampuku and the Būnsuŋki may be seen in dreams.

[823] Sometimes the residence of this or that god is known, for it has revealed it through the mouth of its bearer; the god's name is then given to that place. For example, at the mouth of the Abounami there is a fall named Ma Akoti Gadu Sula. It is there that the god resides which revealed itself in olden days in an old woman named Akoti.

776 613 Connections with the group of relatives. The idea of a god protector of the lineage, whose worship, brought by the founder of the group, is regarded as indispensable to the life of the collectivity, is not found clearly among the Refugee Blacks. There are actually many divinities which have entered the lineage and which are worshiped collectively. But these divinities are intruders; they have penetrated into the group by [784] force in order to exert an inexorable vengeance against it. [282] People do not apply to them to ask for protection, and they are worshiped only because they cannot be expelled. /[illegible]/

776 602 /205/ There is not believed to be any kinship tie between the gods and men, nor any tie of a systematic or exclusive character.

/205 cont./

776 Still, they assume that the gods that have entered a
613 matrilineage tend to be transmitted within this group. If, for
428 example, a woman is possessed by a Papa gadu, at her death
[787] she must bequeath it in the same way as her property, and she
can bequeath it only to someone of her lineage.

We have seen in studying the transmission of the god of Kotoïda († 1956), that only the women of the Afi lineage to which she belonged could inherit.

776 Even if the god is not bequeathed, which sometimes
613 happens, if it exercises the kunu, it will manifest itself sooner
784 or later in a member of the lineage. But long years may pass
before it shows itself. This conception is absolutely clear to
the Refugee Blacks, and furthermore, if it did no[illegible]ist, the
[114] idea of the kunu would be without support. P[illegible]ave there-
[428] fore wrongly believed in a transmission of gods from father to
son.

346 Material organization of cults. A material organization of the
787 cults of possession exists within the limits of the localized
794 lineage (lo). This organization is completely independent of
613 the apprenticeship of these cults. It permits the members of
the lineage to easily practice cults they have received anywhere,
on their own responsiblity.

In each lo there exists in general one single chapel (obia ɔsu) for all the divinities of the same category.

For example in the Awara Bakka lo quarter in Asisi (140 persons), for about 15 women having a Papa gadu, there exists only a single one. There is an obia ɔsu for the Ampuku (three or four possessed persons) and another for the Kumẽnti (about ten possessed people).

The chapel of the Papa gadu is placed under the responsibility of the head of the lo. On this subject it is to be noted that the individualized lineages Aw.B.3 and Afi, which however have separate gods, are included in this organization.

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346 794 787 613 [293] The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the *Papa gadu ɔsu* of the Awara Bakka quarter of Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The *Papa gadu* do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the *Papa dɔɔ̃* drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the *Papa gadu* god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the *kunu*. In the example mentioned of the Awara [428] /206/ Bakka *lo* of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

[621] In villages like Boniville and Papaïston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a *Papa gadu ɔsu* for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Térésa whose god exercises the *kunu* on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papaïston the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a *Papa gadu ɔsu* of its own.

/206 cont./

776 787 [184] The Kumẽnti. These gods are common to the Saramaka (Kromenti) (1), Djuka, and Boni. The Kumẽnti are considered to be benevolent gods and friends of men, so their possession is very much desired. They do not come into men spontaneously, they are obtained only by applying to a teacher. In principle [562] only men can obtain Kumẽnti, while on the other hand only women can have Bǔnzunki /sic/.

776 787 751 The Kumẽnti are specialized in protection against fire and against machete and gun wounds. These dangers hold the largest place among the anxieties of the Refugee Blacks, who spend almost all their life in the bush and with whom nearly [789] all sores become infected and have serious consequences. Thus the Kumẽnti cult holds an important place in their magic; even someone who is not possessed will try to obtain from these gods an ɔbia that will protect him from these various dangers.

153 791 787 786 [533] [534] The instruction of the disciples of these gods takes as its pattern the procedures described above, but the collective dances appear to play an essential part. The teacher calls on the gods by beating a special rhythm on ordinary drums (apinti) and by uttering invocations punctuated by the rattle of the saka (Indian maraka, that is, hollow calabash provided with a handle and containing seeds).

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[174] 1. There is no doubt about the origin of this word; it is a deformation of Coromantin, name given in the 18th century to Ashanti country. The "Coromantin Negroes," reputed to be particularly intractable, played a large role in the slave revolts. The Kumenti cult of possession must originally have been a cult peculiar to the Coromantin nation.

/206 cont./
153 containing seeds). Sometimes, when a god has entered a pupil,
791 the teacher puts the latter's passivity to the test by insulting the
787 god with the help of the drum. The Kumɛnti gets angry, breaks
786 bottles and swallows ground glass, walks in the fire, hits him-
[789] self with machete blows, all without any wound resulting, they
say, on the body of its bearer.

[302] These frenzied dances, whose participants completely
covered with pɛmba (white clay) are as if hallucinated, have a
bizarre aspect which is perceptible to some of the Boni them-
selves. They do not have any secret character and constitute,
[522] on the contrary, a fine spectacle for the village people. The
spectators double up with laughter at the contortions and strange
actions which the gods inspire in those possessed. They are
[521] talked about at length /207/ afterward in the evenings,
humorists imitating what they saw done there, without any fear
whatever of irritating the gods.

791 Each "teacher for Kumɛnti" owns a small gadu ɔsu in
787 which are lined up the implements of the cult. One finds in
346 general in these chapels a post crudely carved in the shape of a
human bust, a block of stone, jaguar skulls, some kɔkɔti (shrub
stalks with a spontaneous double bend, thought to be the prop
of spirits in the bush), and a saka (maraka), the whole sprinkled
with white clay (pɛmba). One finds also beside the door a seat
and a trough which are used for the ablutions of the pupils.

153 While bathing his body with the infusion of leaves pre-
791 pared by the teacher, the neophyte repeats, in ordinary language,
787 a series of invocations: "Come to me, enter into me. But be-
788 fore entering into me, it is necessary to teach me the things
of thy country; O God, when thou art in me, may I be able to
dance on broken glass without its cutting me; may I be able to
dance in fire without its burning me. If tomorrow someone
takes a machete to hurt me, he shall not be able to come for-
ward. If someone takes a gun to shoot me, (his weapon) must
break, must not be able to take off. If someone is sick, make
an ɔbia for him, he must recover."

/207 cont./

153 791 787 The teacher has the pupil turn in a circle around the mortar in which has been prepared the infusion of leaves, until he is dizzy. Alternately he makes him turn and "washes" his body with the infusion. Possession occurs by itself at the end of a certain number of sessions.

[276] [171] In the practices intended to make the gita of Kumẽnti "rise," the absorption of toxic substances enters, especially tobacco juice, method employed by the Indian medicine men. But once the reflexes are created, there is no further need for these substances; the gita appears as soon as the calling procedures are used, which are of two kinds:

--Personal procedures: The man voluntarily calls on his gita while putting on the god's costume and taking a certain posture;

--Outside procedures: The gita may be released from outside either by calling the god by name or by beating the corresponding rhythm on the drum.

787 158 When the pupil begins to feel the gita of Kumẽnti, that is first manifested by trances. We have very often been present at these attacks, which usually come on at night in the forest, but commonly also during the day. The one possessed suddenly lets go of the objects he was holding (for example, if he was in the process of eating, he drops plate and spoon), and rushes forward running through the forest howling rhythmically as if he had become an animal. His eyes are rolled upward, he no longer is conscious of his surroundings; he is not in any way threatening; these fits are totally inoffensive in spite of their [147] impressive aspect. One sees possessed people in this state do things which are difficult to explain, such as running in complete darkness in the most impenetrable underbrush without falling or hurting themselves, or climbing up in a few seconds on a craggy rock which would have been hard to scale in full daylight.

/208/

153 791 787 [195] In proportion as the pupil perfects himself, the god expresses itself more easily with the help of his body, begins to do coordinated acts and to speak. They say that the gita has been "arranged" (seeka). The Kumēnti speak with a gruff, jerky voice, characteristic, which humorists love to imitate in the evenings' recitals.

In order to call on his gita voluntarily, the pupil crouches down, feet together, throwing pemba from right to left at the level of his feet and uttering the formula: "O Kumēnti, djumpo ku a mi." Then he remains immobile in this position and waits; possession takes place generally at the end of a few minutes.

776 787 The Kumēnti which enter thus into men are exclusively male gods; it is known that they have wives because they talk about them, but they never manifest themselves.

[812] The Kumēnti are generally benevolent; still, no more than any divinity of the Refugee Blacks, do they represent a principle of goodness and justice in itself. They watch in a partial fashion over the interests of their bearers. Thus it is that A..., of the Dipélu II lo, has a Kumēnti which reacts in a violent way when it has the impression that danger threatens [158] its bearer. It enters into him suddenly, takes a machete and storms through the village, while people prudently barricade themselves in their houses.

787 789 In certain circumstances, when their trances are particularly intense, the people possessed by Kumēnti are capable, it is said, of walking in fire, dancing on broken glass, climbing thorny awara palm trees, and even having themselves struck with blows of a machete without any wound resulting from it. Professor de Goeje gives impressive personal testimony on this subject, such as the case of a possessed man who overturned a pail of boiling water on his body (1). Mr. Mathieu, Director of

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1. In a note in Mr. W.F. van Lier's work, § 37.

/208 cont./

787 789 the Forestry Society of Saint-Laurent, told us of seeing in 1937 among the Paramaka a possessed man take firmly in his hands a red-hot axe-head and keep it between his two hands for an appreciable length of time.

Personally we have several times seen possessed people thrash themselves with spiny *awara* branches and break bottles on their heads with such violence that the pieces flew several meters; ; some of them were hurt, but others presented an intact epidermis.

There is no special instruction for the exercises of invulnerability. The possessed person does what he feels capable of, strikes himself progressively harder and harder, breaks bottles, etc.

It is affirmed that certain possessed people are capable of climbing the thorny *awara* palm trees. If the *gita* then abandons them, they can no longer come down. Those who know the Kumenti /sic/ language well then evoke the god by formulas so that he will come back.

787 578 [173] Theoretically, if someone wrongs a man who has a *Kumēnti*, his *gita* "rises" immediately. The guilty one can do no more than flee. They say that in the old days possessed people were seen /209/ to kill those who had done them wrong. No *kunu* can result from this if the victim is in the wrong. Nothing like this has been seen for a very long time.

The principle is that if one has nothing to reproach himself about with respect to the possessed person, one has nothing to fear from him. This is why people do not hesitate to interpose themselves between the possessed one and the object of his wrath.

[789] If two men having a *Kumēnti* get into an argument, their *gita* "rise" simultaneously and they strike each other with machete blows without, it is said, any harm resulting to either one, until someone separates them.

/209 cont./

787 If someone has a Kumɛnti, certain objects used in the
784 cult: pestle, mortar, machete, must not be raised near him.
His gita "would rise" immediately. Likewise while he is eating,
neither tiger nor gun must be mentioned. To prevent their gita
from rising, those concerned may take the precaution of putting
a small piece of wood behind the ear while they eat.

787 These past years the cult of the Kumɛnti was clearly
178 declining among the Boni, as was the whole of their religious
[771] life; every one, indeed, no longer thought about anything but
[781] earning money and was always traveling in order to do this,
[484] which made difficult the indispensable meetings and dances.
On the other hand, cared for effectively when they are ill in
[743] the Maripasoula hospital, the Boni feel the cult of the Kumɛnti
[755] less necessary, of which the principal social function is to cure.
So, while in 1948 we used to be present very often at manifestations of the gita of Kumɛnti, in 1952 they were becoming much
rarer and more secret /modest/. They were tending to fall to
the level of the latent manifestations of which we shall speak
further on. In 1956 we did not observe in the course of the forest
[346] work any spontaneous attack of this gita. The chapels dedicated
to the Kumɛnti are scarcely maintained and are falling into ruins;
such is the fate of the gods judged benevolent toward men.
[751] Nevertheless people continue to lay great store by the ɔbia of
Kumɛnti, especially the man nɛŋge ɔbia which protects against
the machete and the gun, and the Kumɛnti bui, ring of Kumɛnti,
instrument of divination.

776 The Bũnsuŋki. The Bũnsuŋki are gods which live in the waters,
[823] by preference at the head of falls, beside rocks bearing copses
of detached trees; they can also reside ordinarily in these trees
[787] themselves. They appear sometimes in dreams to men as well
as to women in the aspect of Indians, more commonly Indian
women with long hair. This is why they are sometimes called
wata Iŋgi, Indians of the water.

776 /209 cont./
wata iŋgi, Indians of the water. In certain spots, people have
[778] known since the time of the ancestors that there resides such a
[782] Bũnsuŋki, whose name they know; when they pass there, they address a prayer to it while making a sacrifice of tafia.

776 (The Bũnsuŋki must not be confused with wata mama, the
171 mama-of-the-water of the Creoles, a dreaded divinity but one which the Boni do not appear to worship. The wata mama lives at the bottom of deep holes in river beds and never allows her face to be seen; she sometimes abandons one of her long hairs on the rocks and he who finds it becomes rich).

776 /210/ The Bũnsuŋki can enter into human beings, exclusively,
787 it seems, into women. They give a different gita from those
[562] of the Kumẽnti. The possessed person dances at the edge of the water, then swims and dives for a long time. They affirm that
[789] if its possession is sufficiently intense, the genie carries the possessed woman along to the bottom of the water, where she stays for a very long time without any harm! That is supposed to have happened especially in Asisi village to a woman named Dabisa.

Possession by the Bũnsuŋki is not frequent. In 1952 it was known in Boni country in only three women.

[562] As for men, they may perceive these divinities in dreams and receive benefits from them. For that they go to the place
[788] where it resides and bathe, uttering an invocation: "O god,
[782] watch over me, protect me, come to me at night when I sleep, speak to me, act so that I may not be sick, so that I may get rich." The following night, the divinity will come in a dream, demand a sacrifice (beer in general), say that it /grants/ the prayer.

776 The Vɔɔdũ (1). These are gods much feared for their evil

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1. This word is obviously a deformation of the Dahomey word vodũn.

/210 cont./

776 character, touchy and vindictive. In speaking of them one [576] says Papa gadu (papa does not mean "father"; it is a term of respect used for important personages (2)). They are believed

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2. This is the interpretation given by the Refugee Blacks. However, 18th-century documents on the origin of the slaves draw attention to the existence of an African tribe called Papa. Allusions contained in documents of the archives of Surinam, recently studied by Madame Silvia W. de Groot, would tend to identify the Papa with one of the populations of present-day Dahomey. In this hypothesis, the cult of the papa gadu would represent an archaic form of the Dahomey cult of the snake gods.

776 They are believed
[825] to have as habitual bearers the boa snakes (dagowe) (3) which

3. This word appears to be the deformation of the Dahomey word dãgbe.

are not to be confused with the great water snakes (anaconda) [824] that the Refugee Blacks call mboma sineki. They may also reside in silk-cotton trees (kankan tree) and in the trees called katu udu (Bombax surinamiensis).

[787] The Vɔɔdũ which incarnate themselves in humans may be of either sex; if a male god is concerned, it is called "tata vɔɔdũ."

/210 cont./

776 The *Bumba gadu*, other gods of the same nature and
[825] equally feared, have as bearers other categories of snakes,
principally the great anaconda water snakes.

[784] The *Voodū*, we have said, are feared; they can exercise
on a lineage the collective curse called *kunu*. But, no more
[812] than the *Kumēnti* do not represent a principle of good, they do
not represent a principle of evil. Not all are so badly disposed
toward men, and even if one of them is the enemy of a lineage,
it is not for that reason badly disposed toward the rest of men.
787 However this may be, the cult of possession of the *Papa gadu* is
178 not at all in decline among the Boni. According to the cross-checking
[562] we have been able to do, of the 670 persons living on
the French bank there are at least 40 to 50 who have a *Papa gadu*,
the great majority of them old women.
787 /211/ The *Voodū* /*sic*/ are much feared, and for that very reason
784 much respected. They are oracles which are consulted very
often, without consideration of the evil their *kunu* has done
and will still do. A god which exercises the *kunu* but which is
provisionally declared appeased may be consulted without danger;
it is always assumed that in any case its bearer, if he respects
its commands, has nothing to fear from it.

787 It is possible that, very unconsciously, women use the fear
562 that the *Papa gadu* gods inspire in order to maintain their independence
and privileged position in Refugee Black society.

153 Instruction in possession appears to take as a pattern the
791 same principles as that which correspond to the *Kumēnti*. It
789 involves the teaching of the Papa language; this language appeared
[198] to us to be in decline; in fact, it is used only for formulas
[178] of greeting; then the possessed people vaticinate in ordinary
[515] language. Instruction in possession also involves daily ablutions
with decoctions of leaves; certain of these mixtures are particularly
[824] complicated (it is said that they include more than a
[534] hundred different kinds of leaves). Instruction is essentially individual;
however it also includes dances; on this occasion a

/211 cont./

153 special drum is used, about two meters long and very narrow,
791 devoid of any decoration, which is called *lãŋga dɔɔ̃* or *papa*
787 *dɔɔ̃*.

534 To call on her *gita*, the possessed woman (they are almost
787 always women) stands, puts on a piece of cloth which she always
[562] keeps nearby and always takes along with her when she travels: this is the garment of the god; it consists of a sort of scarf crossed in front; then she throws white clay, *pemba*, on her feet from right to left and left to right while invoking the god. Possession is almost immediate. One sees the woman's eyes roll up and her expression become haggard. The god does not cover himself entirely with *pɛmba* like the *Kumɛ̃nti*, he makes himself a sort of headband on the forehead with white clay.
787 He begins with an invocation to Masa Gadu said in ordinary
788 language.

539 "*Masa gadu, gi mi pimisi, beka mi na pikin nɛ̃ŋge; ala*
[782] *sani di mi ɔ taki, na yu mu gi mi kaakiti, beka na yu abi mi kaakiti, da mi ɲyãfalu gi yu.*"

"Masa Gadu, I implore you, for I am a humble creature; (in) all that I am going to say, it is you who will give me strength, for my strength is in you; I shall exalt you."

787 Next come formulas of welcome to those present, which
788 are the exact translation of the formulas of greeting of everyday
[198] life, then songs, all in the Papa language. After about a quarter of an hour, it enters a hut and sits down, answering in ordinary language the questions of those present, always in a singing tone.

787 Possession by *Papa gadu* does not have the bestial character of possession by *Kumɛ̃nti*; outside of the dances, it does not involve brutish gestures or bizarre acts; the possessed woman hums softly in a shrill voice, moving with graceful gestures.
[531] /212/ Sometimes she draws strange signs on the huts; the Boni state that that is a kind of writing, that other possessed people

787 531 /212 cont./
can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 [255] [253] The *Papa gadu* are chiefly consulted to ask them to reveal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 648 [782] [171] [778] The worship of the *Papa gadu* snake gods makes a strong impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder" (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the *Papa gadu*.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.

[787] [164] An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a *Papa gadu* named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old, Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

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755 [753] [784] [824] is answering in ordinary language the questions posed. The sick boy's mother asks the god if it is really he who made her son ill. He answers that it is he and gives two reasons: first, a week before, Féni damaged with a blow of the machete the root of a silk-cotton tree in which precisely he himself was living; moreover, his sister Pamasa was sick for 15 days, he did not go to visit her.

The mother begs the god: "Ubegi yu, yu abi leti, gi ẽŋ paadʒ, a 'ã be sabi bɔ-bɔ. (We beg you, you are right (but) pardon him, he had not realized well /what he did/.)"

Then the god directs a treatment: an infusion of a certain number of leaves, with which the sick boy will wash his body. It states that the sick boy will quickly get well.

Pamasa then comes back to her ordinary state. The scene has lasted about three-quarters of an hour in all.

164 Observation in Asisi, October, 1956.

On October 21 at 8 o'clock I am told that Bugi, a woman of about 45, is gravely ill; she suffers from violent pains in the chest and a general tremor. The sick woman is stretched out on the ground, supported by her brother and surrounded by old women who are comforting her. She appears to suffer atrociously, her body is covered with sweat, her lower limbs are agitated with an incessant trembling; she presents the symptoms of a
755 heart attack (2). In front of the house, the ɔbiaman are preparing a "remedy," /213/ for they suspect that this is a question of a manifestation of the Papa gadu of which Bugi is the bearer.

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2. Bugi had already been hospitalized in Maripasoula for a heart attack.

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755 A stalk of sāŋgaafu twice bent in an elbow is arranged on the ground. A cross is traced in the dirt.

Centered on the cross is placed a large basin into which is poured infusions of leaves taken from several calabashes.

The sick woman, still prostrate and groaning, is seated on a stool facing the basin. The contents of the basin are poured slowly over her body while she is massaged. It is not a question of a remedy in the literal sense of the word; the sick one is "washed" to help the god to manifest itself in her.

I notice that while going back into the hut she trembles almost no more; the attack seems to be subsiding.

In the meanwhile someone comes to call me elsewhere and I cannot come back until half an hour later. I find the sick woman standing, smeared with pɛmba, in the middle of a [787] meditative audience. The god has descended into her and is expressing itself in Papa language while she dances with slow gestures.

[753] [784] I am told that it has just given the explanation of the illness: it struck Bugi because she did not observe the kina given to all bearers of Papa gadu, to stay away from funeral ceremonies. Now, the day before yesterday, she had knowingly participated in the tukka dance around Kotoïda's coffin.

The ɔbiaman present beg the god to pardon, which it does after claiming a bottle of beer which it drinks through the mouth of its bearer.

152 164 753 784 Observation in Kormotibo, December 18, 1957.

On December 18 in the evening I find the village of Kormotibo in the clutches of terror. Several persons are sick from the effect of the kunu. Apaita, a young woman, has an enormous whitlow, following an accident; two women have been stricken with pneumonia.

/213 cont./

753 784 These misfortunes are attributed to the kunu exercised by a Papa gadu god, since about a hundred years ago an ancestress named Akonté involuntarily killed a dagɔwe snake [787] while fishing /nivrant/ a creek. In our day this god manifests itself in Alama (Dip. II, E1), and another Papa gadu, which says it is the descendant of the first, manifests itself in Apaita [755] (F9). It is the latter which, speaking through the mouth of Apaita, revealed that it was striking the village because nobody had danced for it for five years.

755 They called B...., obiaman specialized in the vɔɔdũ cult. He surrounded the chapel of the Papa gadu with stalks of sãŋgaafu placed vertically. He prepared an infusion of [789] leaves with which the Kormotibo women who have a Papa gadu have just smeared themselves (they are four in number, including two outsiders to the Dipélu II lineage). It is a question of helping their gods to manifest themselves.

People are going to dance eight nights running, part of the night. The agida drum drawn out of the chapel is set up in working position. /214/

The rites carried out to neutralize the kunu are:

--Cleaning of the chapel;

--Decoration by means of stalks of sãŋgaafu placed upright all around /it/;

--Bathing of the sick with leaves believed to have the power of making the influence of the Papa gadu go away;

--With other leaves, on the contrary concentrating the maleficent influence of the Papa gadu in a calabash which is then carefully shut up in the chapel.

787 Possession by the Ampuku. It is much more rare, and personally we have observed it only twice; the possessed people make circles of pemba around their eyes and draw kinds of ovals on

/214 cont./

787 their legs with this white clay; they prophesy in a singing tone,
without the usual voice of their bearer's ceasing to be recognizable,
expressing themselves in the Saramaka language.

796 The Ampuku have the appearance of men similar to
Blacks, but unknown. They reside in the depths of the woods;
[184] some are good, others bad. One can gain their good will by
worshiping them, which is especially developed in Saramaka
country.

776 Baliki, of Kormotibo village, tells of having been present
535 one day at a dance of the Ampuku, when he was traveling to
[103] the Saramaka village of Balen.

"During the day, people went on the paths far into the bush to put down calabashes containing certain herbs. At night were seen to come out of the forest a large number of unknown men, dressed in the manner of the Saramaka. They danced all night, and at dawn left again as they had come."

776 The Ampuku gods, considered to be maleficent gods of
the bush, exercise their influence on everyone. When a person
[789] has slept in the bush, he "washes" himself free of Ampuku with
[824] an infusion of leaves of five plants which are part of the
secondary flora surrounding the villages and of which the
principal plant is the sangaafu (Costus cylindricus).

791 Frequency of possession. In 1956 teachers or bas were very
787 scarce in Boni country. For the Kumenti gods, only S...
(Kotika) remained; for the Papa gadu, since the death of
Antinon (Dju), there remained only M... (Papaïston) and B...
[619] (Asisi). People were commonly going to receive instruction
from Djuka teachers in the villages of the Tapanaoni.

787 It would be a great error to believe that nearly all the
562 men have gods. On the contrary, this is an exception. According
to the evaluations we were able to make, there is not
more than one adult man out of six or seven who is possessed.

/214 cont./

562 On the other hand, possession is much more frequent among
787 women: it can be estimated that on the average, one adult
woman out of three or four has a gadu.

162 For example in Boniville, out of 115 persons including
776 about 70 adults, one reckons about 30 gods including 8 to 10
787 Papa gadu, 8 to 10 Kumɛnti, 1 Bunsunki, and 2 Ampuku.

791 Apprenticeship for possession can begin from adult age,
787 but it seems /215/ that in general it is between 35 and 50 that
561 women take heed of obtaining a gadu. Would that not be, very
562 unconsciously, the desire to stay in the limelight and indirectly
to keep a hold over men, once the age of sensual attraction is
past?

787 Possession continues for life, and it is out of the question for a god to be transmitted before the death of its bearer. For example, in 1957, the centenarian grandmother in Asisi village, Kuluba, still kept her Papa gadu god. She had not participated any more in the dances of possession for long years, but her gita was always consulted.

But it can happen, if a possessed person stops taking part in dances and practicing the rites that have been shown him, that any manifestation ceases at the end of a few years.

We observed that in B... of the Dipélu II lo, in 1948 and 1949. He used to exhibit strong attacks of the gita of Kumɛnti. He stopped his instruction, finding that it was costing too much and was taking time. In 1952 he exhibited only latent manifestations of his gita at rare intervals. In 1956 nothing was any longer observable.

787 It can happen, on the other hand, that attacks of pos-
789 session become so frequent and so strong that the person concerned risks losing his reason; if it concerns a god which did not come of its own initiative, one can try to expel it. In
[824] order to "wash" someone free of a gita, he is made to pass between two rows of ɔbiaman who hold dry palms, pina tɔŋgo, in their hands and utter adjurations.

/*215 cont.*/

787 789 [114] in their hands and utter adjurations. We saw this rite performed in 1949 but without being able to observe the exact details.

787 771 The frequency of the phenomena of possession and the importance accorded to them imprint a remarkable character on the religious life of the Refugee Blacks: all these manifestations have for each one the character of *obvious material fact.* How, then, doubt that one lives with the gods, sees them, and [177] speaks to them? Because of this fact the society of the Refugee Blacks is utterly impermeable to European influences.

787 824 *Some plants utilized in the rites of possession*. The preparations with which the possessed people "wash" their bodies consist of macerations of leaves. The plants used, which for the most part belong to the secondary flora which develops in the old clearings, are very numerous. However, some are regarded as [789] having a very unique power. The first five especially are utilized by all the Boni to "wash off the *Ampuku*" when they have slept a night in the bush.

[122]

Aluku Name	Identification(1)	Use
Lebi katu	cotton	cult of the *Ampuku*
Kɔnɔpo wiwi	*Aypbis atrorubens* (labiaceae)	-----
		/*216*/
Foo kãkã	*Tiaridium indicum* (borraginaceae)	-----
Sume wiwi	*Ocimum sanctum* (?) (labiaceae)	-----

1. Identification by Mr. Hoock, botanist connected with the Institut français d'Amérique tropicale (IFAT) in Cayenne.

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/216 cont./

Aluku Name	Identification	Use
Sāŋgaafu	Costus cylindricus (zingiberaceae)	cult of the Papa gadu and of the Ampuku
Malimbelimbe	Piper sp. (?)	-----
Filli (Hɔligɔɔ̃)	Chamaesyae sp. (?) (euphorbiaceae)	-----

828

Beliefs Concerning the Human Person and Its Development
Ancestor Worship

[171] The Refugee Blacks of the various tribes have precise and identical conceptions on this subject, which are found also, more or less mixed with Christian conceptions, among the West Indian populations of African origin. For them, man is formed of three elements: the body, the yɔrka which may be translated by personality, and a higher principle called akka.

[184] [128] It goes without saying that among the Boni, who have not elaborated these conceptions and received them from the Djuka, nobody is capable of discoursing on them. But numerous conceptions having to do with magic and to the relationships with the ancestors permit of rather reliable cross-checking.

774 The akka. - It is not possible to translate akka (1) by soul in the sense we understand it. The akka is an immortal divine element

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1. This word appears to be a deformation of kla (Agni-Baoulé), word to which a very comparable meaning is attached.

[774] /216 cont./ the akka is an immortal divine element
[775] attached to a human person for the duration of his life and
which, at his death, returns to the domain of the divine, no
longer keeping any contact with men.

[828] The akka is the source of life from which the human
personality is nourished, but it is not this personality.

The Refugee Blacks consider the akka as a personal protector god; they are apt to say mi gadu, my god, for mi akka.

The concept of the akka was spontaneously transposed by the West Indians into that of the guardian angel. They speak in Haiti of the "big good angel."

For Refugee Blacks the life, health, and destiny of a man
depend above all on the akka; they think that if the akka went
away, the body and mind of the man could not remain bound
together; he would die or lose consciousness. This is, a little,
what happens each night, for they believe that the akka leaves
the body to wander, which brings on the loss of consciousness.
[754] /217/ So the wisimã, the sorcerer, tries to profit by this to
capture the akka so that the man may become insane.

The akka is thought to have tastes, desires, and goals
foreign to those of the personality and of which the man, in his
[753] ordinary consciousness, has no knowledge. The akka can make
the man sick if he behaves in a way that it does not like. So
[755] when someone is sick, he resorts to divination in order to know
whether it is not the deed of the akka and, in the affirmative,
for what motive. One might think that the akka behaves like
a conscience in the moral sense of the term; that it gets angry
if its bearer does something evil. But in reality the akka shows
itself to be as arbitrary, wicked, and venal as the lower gods
of the Refugee Blacks. If it gets angry (they say: mi akka
mãndi), this is because its bearer wears clothes of a color it
does not like, or because it wants an offering. We have never,
on the other hand, heard a case spoken of in which the akka
might have become angry with its bearer because he was a
thief, liar, or adulterer.

/217 cont./

774 Most of the Boni are not concerned with their akka. The only ones who take heed of it are those who have reasons to believe it irritated. The worship rendered varies a good deal from one individual to another in the nature and frequency of the rites performed.

774 777 [648] For example, K..., of Papaïston village, prey to a persistent streak of bad luck, went to consult a Creole lukumã from Surinam, who revealed to him that it was the doing of unsatisfied desires of his akka. His akka wanted a black dog and a copper bracelet. He procured both for himself, and since, he says, he no longer has the same bad luck.

774 778 B..., head of T... village, has in a corner of his hut a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust with a half calabash from which emerge stalks of saŋgaafu on its head. At the side is a small fraga tiki. He tells me that this is the god of the cult of his akka; these rites are strictly personal with him.

774 [822] Most of the akka esteem white beads and red cloth. If one sees a Boni wear a red cloak, one can be almost sure that it is by order of his akka.

[787] [789] If someone's mind wanders or he has bizarre dreams, he may see in this the feeling that his akka wishes to leave him and that he is in danger of its happening. He then goes to ask an ɔbiaman to make him an akka tetɛy: this is a ring of fibers worn on the big toe and which is supposed to prevent the akka from going away.

These rites vary a lot from one individual to the other, but they have a common principle. If someone begins to attend to his akka, he cannot abandon the worship during his lifetime, or else the akka will avenge itself.

Akka worship is strictly personal and is not bequeathed upon death.

774 /217 cont./

583 If someone marries a girl, he must not only pay her mother the price of virginity but must also pay the girl's akka. [782] For that he offers white beads and cloth which the bride will wear, as well as sweets which will be consumed by her. [784] If the price of virginity were not paid, the woman's akka, humiliated, might make her sick or kill her. ~~/218/~~

774 /218/ There are seven categories of akka, masculine and feminine, one for each day of the week.

[114] Crevaux in 1877 was able to establish the complete list (1):

[171] 1. This conception is widespread in the Agni-Ashanti culture area, among the Éwé and Mina, and as far as western Dahomey. The names reported among the Mina correspond very exactly, except for some differences in pronunciation, to the ones kept by the Boni.

[805]

	Men	Women
Sunday	Kwasi	Kwasiba
Monday.	Kɔdyo	Adyuba
Tuesday.	Kwami	Abeniba
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuba
Thursday	Yao	Yaba
Friday	Kɔfi	Afiba
Saturday	Kwamina	Amba

[184] All these names are known to the Boni, but none of our informants was capable of reciting the complete list. [551] It is well understood that a name like Kɔfi, Kɔdio /sic/, etc. is the akka's name and not at all the man's name (2).

/218 cont./

774 551 2. Although it happens that people receive as a name an *akka* name, sometimes accompanied by a qualificative, such as Lébikwaku.

774 Actually, each one knows his *akka*'s name, which was revealed
262 to him by his parents when he was a child; to this name is
[551] attached an *akka kina* or food prohibition relative to the *akka*.
[754] Both are carefully kept secret even from near relatives and
friends, for knowing them could help the *wisimã* take possession
of the *akka*. On this subject people often use the term *gadu*
[784] *kina*, as they say *mi gadu* instead of *mi akka*. This term is
easily confused with the prohibition imposed on the possessed
[787] person by the god which incarnates itself in him; these are two
very different notions.

[858] The *akka kina* is unique for each man. It is sought by
the parents when the child is completely weaned. They try to
[789] draw parallels between the foods he has eaten and the health
disorders he may exhibit, and these suppositions are confirmed
by divinatory procedures.

774 A man does not ordinarily pray to his *akka*. He addresses
782 prayer to it only if he is sick, to ask it for protection, or before
leaving on a long trip, to ask it to watch over him. If he
comes back safe and sound, he thanks it by making an offering
to it, in the form of a bottle of syrup (*switi sopi*), which he
turns upside down over his head.

774 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the Djuka have the
184 idea that the shadow (*kaaka*) is the visible image of the *akka*;
the Boni do not appear to have this conception; one does not
observe that they attach any importance whatever to whether
a man's shadow passes over them; on the contrary, one must
not step over a man lying on the ground, that might injure his
akka.

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774 *The yɔrka*. (The Boni say *yɔɔka*, the Djuka and the Creoles
775 of Surinam *yɔrka*.) The expression *yɔrka* is used only to designate the spirits of the dead. But of course the elements of the *yɔrka* are present in the living man. /[illegible]/

774
828 /219/ The *yɔrka* is the ordinary consciousness of the man, his memories, tastes, aversions, all that constitutes his personality. All that, for the Refugee Blacks, does not come from the divine plane but at least in part from former human existences, and after death will not reach the divine plane. The Refugee
775 Blacks seem to believe that after death, the *yɔrka* remains unchanged, will keep the same desires, the same aversions, the same thoughts; it is simply no longer in ordinary life, it has passed to another plane, intermediate between the divine and the human, from whence it continues to remain in a certain fashion in contact with men. The various informants we questioned on this subject declare that they have no idea of the fate of the *yɔrka* after death, of its place with respect to the divinities, of the rewards or punishments of which it may be the object according to the manner in which the man lived. These are questions they never ask themselves openly and which hardly interest them, all their interest being centered on earthly life.
[154] The idea of a paradise is absolutely foreign to them; they acknowledge however in the case of the *wisimã* that they will be stripped of the force that every living being receives from the divine, and that thus destroyed as beings, they will no longer be more than empty shadows.

769 The *gaã yɔrka*, spirits of the ancestors, are believed to watch over their descendants and are subject to worship.

[771] *Ancestor worship*. Among the Refugee Blacks, ancestor worship is intimately bound up with all the acts of family and social life. They assume that the *yɔrka* of the ancestors are always present near their descendants and that they protect them. It is through them as intermediaries that the force emanated by the divine is received by the living.

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769 We have described the principal ceremonies of this worship in speaking of family life.

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613 One addresses only his near ancestors in maternal line, and one addresses them all collectively. Just as the custom of the Refugee Blacks rejects all that might individualize one line within a lineage, it rejects every individual bond between a given dead person and a given living person. Just as "uncles" exercise guardianship collectively over "nephews," the dead collectively protect the living. It would be a grave offense against the customary law of the Refugee Blacks to go individually to the fraga tiki to invoke the yɔrka of one or another of his relatives. [784] We shall see further on that the only exception to this is for the ancestors who have made themselves conspicuous by exercising the kunu against another lineage.

Ancestor worship is organized within the lo, and its priest is the head of the lo, hedemã or captain. Individualized fractions (bɛɛ) which may exist within the lo, like Papaïston 2, have no separate ancestor worship.

769
778 The place of prayer is made up of a small square of ground about 1 meter x 1 meter, separated from village soil by pieces of boards; in the middle of this square is set a T-shaped post whose horizontal arm serves as support for a square of white cloth: this is the fraga tiki.

The cloth rots rapidly under the influence of bad weather, but it is not removed; a new one is attached over the old when it is too spoiled; likewise /220/ the post, which ends up by rotting, is not replaced as long as it does not fall to the ground. This behavior might be thought to be negligence, but it is nothing of the sort: for the Refugee Blacks, what has been offered to the ancestors is removed from the action of men; no one can touch it any more, even to repair it.

/220 cont./

769 Beside the principal *fraga tiki* one sometimes sees sticks
bearing fragments of white cloth; they have been planted in
778 honor of those ancestors who have demanded it.

The ceremonies at the *fraga tiki* have a very simple
769 character; prayers are said in the ordinary language and often
778 have the character of an intimate conversation. In the absence
782 of the head of the lineage, an old man pronounces them; while
he speaks, an assistant makes the offering of water and tafia.
Pouring water on the ground is a rite having as its purpose entering into contact with the ancestors: it is seen performed in funeral ceremonies, before beginning the interrogation of the *yɔrka*. The tafia is an offering in the literal sense of the term; at the time of the principal prayers being addressed to the ancestors, the offering of tafia is preceded by an offering of cane
[279] juice, *kyẽɔ wata*. Cane juice was the beverage on feast days
in the times when the ancestors, at war with the Europeans, were bereft of tafia.

The prayer formulas most commonly used ask the ancestors to intercede with Masa gadu on behalf of their descendants: "Ancestors, watch over us, protect us, pray to Masa gadu for us so that...."

769 *Possession by a yɔrka.* It is taken for granted that the *yɔrka* of
an ancestor can enter into a member of his matrilineage and
787 reveal itself in the course of attacks of possession. This is a very
613 rare phenomenon. In 1958, in all the Boni country, only about
ten people were known who bore thus the *yɔrka* of an ancestor. These attacks come on spontaneously, no cult having their provocation as its purpose. We were present in December, 1956 at one of these attacks in a young woman from Papa[illegible]ston, Mili, about 20 years old. Since the day before, the *yɔrka* of an ancestor of the lineage dead for two generations had manifested itself in her intermittently; these attacks lasted several minutes;

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782 her voice changed, imitating a man's; eyes staring, she appeared to have no longer any consciousness of what was around her. Then suddenly the attack would cease and she would busy herself with her household occupations in the most natural fashion. The yɔrka which was believed to become incarnate thus in Mili's body spoke of very commonplace things, repeating indefinitely sentences concerning minor happenings of the day, or asking for a small offering of tafia on its behalf at the fraga tiki. A psychiatrist would doubtless have thought of an attack of mental dissociation.

[784] These yɔrka are not feared by their involuntary bearer, since none can exercise a kunu against his own lineage; they manifest themselves only exceptionally, sometimes indicating remedies or warning of dangers. Thus it is that A... of the Dipélu II lo, who has a Kumẽnti besides, also has a yɔrka which revealed itself in him without ever having been called on. According to his comrades, this yɔrka sometimes steps in with a cavernous voice, notably in September, 1952, during a hunting expedition, where it shouted: "Let us not go that way, we shall meet a jaguar." A... lost consciousness for only a few seconds and had not been aware of anything. /Figs. 26 and 27 appear here./ /221/

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828 The nẽmseki (1). Each Refugee Black has a nẽmseki, that is to say that certain elements of his personality are thought to originate from the reincarnation of a certain ancestor. This is a very obscure conception with the Boni, and without apparent correlation with their notion of the akka and the yɔrka; they never say: "I am the reincarnation of So-and-So," but simply:

1. This word seems to be a deformation of English "namesake" (homonym).

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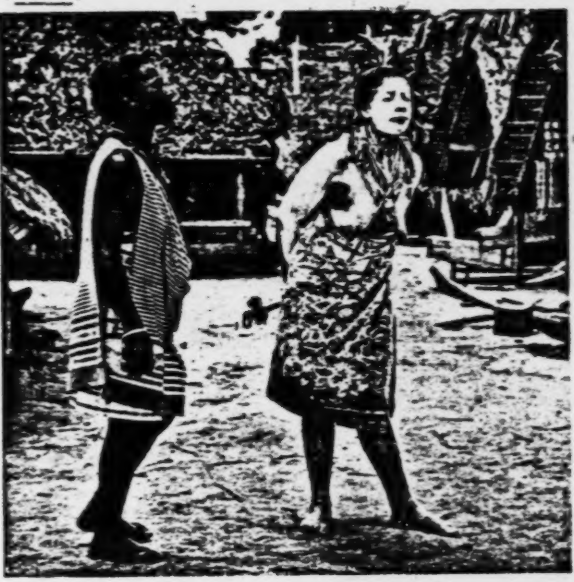

Fig. 26: Woman possessed by a Papa gadu god.

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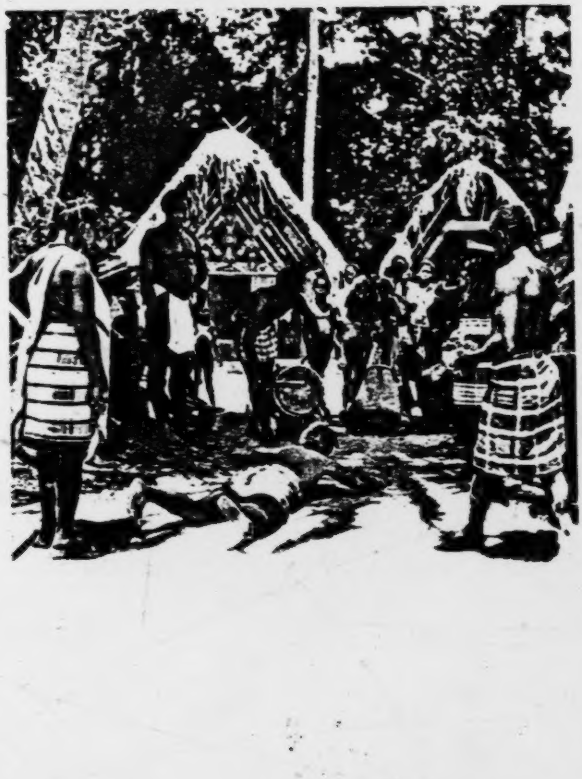
Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gadu worship).



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775 828 [184] "My nɛ̃mseki is So-and-So." Mr. W. F. van Lier, speaking of the Djuka who have much clearer conceptions on religious questions, gives an important clarification: in 1915 Grand Man Oséisi became incarnate in a newborn baby of the tribe, nevertheless he continues to be invoked as an ancestor before the fraga tiki. It seems, then, that it is a case of certain elements of the personality which are believed to be reincarnated, and not of the yɔrka as a whole.

787 It is important to distinguish the nɛ̃mseki from possession by a yɔrka. Possession by a yɔrka is an exceptional occurrence which is manifested in the form of trances, the yɔrka speaking through the mouth of its bearer; outside of these possessions, this yɔrka is believed to reside in the abode of the ancestors.

[613] A yɔrka can reveal itself thus only in a person of its matrilineage.

775 828 The nɛ̃mseki, on the contrary, exists in all men. The ancestor who is thus partially reincarnated is generally on the paternal side, but this is not an absolute rule.

A man is not conscious of his nɛ̃mseki and is acquainted with it only because his parents have revealed it to him. This nɛ̃mseki does not manifest itself in anything in everyday life; it does not impose any kina whatever and does not ask for [753] [755] offerings. However, when a young child falls ill, divination may reveal that it is the doing of the nɛ̃mseki which is indignant at being misunderstood. People hurry then, always with the help of divination, to find out the name of the nɛ̃mseki, proceeding by elimination. As a general rule, they allow themselves to be guided by resemblances of physiognomy, birthmarks calling to mind, for example, certain scars of the dead ancestor.

It is believed that the older a man is when he dies, the more time he will allow to elapse before being reincarnated.

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Relations between Gods and Men

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The kunu

The kunu. The Refugee Blacks call kunu the collective curse which has weighed on a matrilineage since an ancient offense. The kunu is without time limit, without pardon, without pity, blind in the choice of its victims; in principle, it can end only with the complete extermination of the lineage. Each time [753] that adversity swoops down on one of its members in the form [761] of death, sickness, various calamities, the kunu is the most frequently obtained explanation. The instrument of this inexpiable vengeance is either a god or the yɔrka (spirit) of a dead person.

784 613 171 This notion, which occupies a central position in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks, does not appear to have been borrowed directly. Most of the populations of Dahomey /222/ and the Ivory Coast take for granted the idea of arbitrary punishments exercised upon the members of the lineage by the gods or the ancestors of the group. But no population of these regions has, to our knowledge, developed so highly systematized a doctrine.

784 571 The conceptions developed by the Refugee Blacks, divinities impelled exclusively by vengeance, and especially ancestors inexorably chastising lineages other than their own, have created new relationships among individuals and among lineages.

784 We have not been able to elucidate the origin of the word kunu. Perhaps it is a deformation of the Mina word ekunu, which means burial.

776 784 781 Three categories of divinities can pursue men with their kunu, and because of this fact the Refugee Blacks feel toward them an extreme terror mixed with veneration.

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776 784 613 [825] --The Papa gadu (Vɔɔdũ). The kunu that one of them exercises upon a lineage comes uniformly from the fact that in times past, one of the ancestors had inadvertently killed a dagowe snake (boa), usual bearer of the Papa gadu. For example, the snake might have perished in the burning of a clearing. [789] Some time after, the god had possessed a member of the lineage and revealed that henceforth it would exercise a kunu;

--The Ampuku. The kunu of an Ampuku begins in an analogous way; in days gone by an ancestor had, for example, cut a katu tree without performing the rites suitably, or had made a clearing in a place where an Ampuku was residing;

--The Kãntamasu (who call themselves Akɔlo), gods of the termitaries, much feared, may exercise a kunu if, before cutting a clearing, someone has, in spite of all his searching, allowed a termitary to escape him, which thus was not the object of the indispensable rite;

775 784 613 762 --Finally, the kunu may be brought by a dead person's yɔrka. For example, a man of lineage A had once upon a time unjustly accused a man of lineage B. The latter committed suicide out of revenge. The meaning of this act is not the same as in Europe. It is not a question of making one's enemies live in shame and remorse, but by sacrificing one's life to cause an eternal vengeance to be wreaked upon one's enemies. Some time after the suicide, the yɔrka reveals itself in a man of his lineage and announces that it will pursue the members of lineage A eternally with its kunu.

784 Thus the offenses which the kunu punishes are not moral sins as we understand them, but involuntary acts without inner meaning. The purifications and sacrifices demanded are likewise purely exterior acts.

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114 784 The various works treating of the Refugee Blacks point out well the importance of the *kunu*, but it seems to us that the functioning of this institution (for in fact a social institution is certainly concerned here) has not been clearly understood.

784 613 A *kunu* is attached to a matrilineage in the literal sense (bɛɛ). It extends obligatorily to all the members of the matrilineage and can strike only them.

For example, my *kunu* can strike my sister's son but not my wife nor my children (they are subject to the *kunu* of their own lineage). /223/

[782] The *kunu*, striking the lineage as a whole, can be appeased only by prayers uniting (at least in principle) the whole lineage. That is the respect in which the *kunu* may be defined
[571] as a social institution, for it is, we shall see, the principal cement holding the groups together.

The unleashing of a *kunu* does not necessarily and immediately follow the destruction of a termitary or the death of a *dagowe* snake. The god thus offended avenges itself by making a certain number of members of the lineage sick and
784 by causing limited misfortunes to happen. When things are
613 at that point the *kunu* can still be exorcised by prayers and
782 offerings. In 1957 the beginning of a *kunu* was manifesting itself thus in the Awara Bakka lineage of Asisi; very frightened, the members of the lineage made offerings and prayers to exorcise it.

784 But if the lineage people neglect the warnings of the god,
613 if through laziness or selfishness too great a number of them
[673] are absent from the collective prayers and do not take part in
[761] the offerings, prayers and offerings will be refused and the god will kill one of them. From then on the *kunu* is unleashed and can no longer leave the lineage. Its involuntary bearer
[428] will have to bequeath it upon his death to a member of the lineage, who cannot refuse this legacy and must immediately

/223 cont./
784 begin his instruction in order to become a suitable bearer. (If
613 this procedure were not carried out, the god would not cease
428 its *kunu* at all, and the possibility of entering into contact with
it and appeasing it would be lost. Besides, sooner or later it
would come back into a member of the lineage.)

784 The *kunu* strikes without regard to kinship ties, even if
613 kinship between the bearer of the god and the supposed victim
[602] is very distant. Ex.: The *Papa gadu* of Donasi (Papaïston *lo*)
struck a young woman, Gou, with illness in January, 1957.
Donasi and Gou are only relatives in the ninth degree. The
[782] members of the entire Papaïston lineage assembled to supplicate
[361] the god: even people of Wétiti village in the lower Maroni
came.

775 The *kunu* exercised by the *yɔrka* of a dead person has a
784 special importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, for it has
613 profound repercussions on the relations among the lineages.

In principle, the *yɔrka* exercising a *kunu* has as bearer
[428] a living member of its own lineage, who will bequeath it at his
death. But it is also possible that the *yɔrka* may take as bearer
a member of the lineage upon which it exercises the *kunu*.

In both cases, the rite to appease the *yɔrka* is the same;
[782] the yɔrka can be invoked effectively only by the members of its
own lineage, since one can pray (at least in principle) only to
one's own maternal ancestors.

When matrilineage A is struck by the *kunu* exercised by a
yɔrka of matrilineage B, its members thereupon go to consult
the elders of matrilineage A /sic/ and ask them to try to calm
[769] the anger of their ancestor. The members of lineage A assemble
[778] around the *fraga tiki* of lineage B, in back of the elders of this
[787] lineage, in the presence of the bearer of the *yɔrka*, who calls
on his *gita*, goes into trances and prophesying. The *yɔrka*
[782] usually asks for an offering of cane juice and tafia, which is
made at the foot of the /224/ *fraga tiki* by the elders of lineage
B (for the rite to be efficacious, the offering must have been
furnished by lineage A).

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775 A *yɔrka* exercising a *kunu* may also demand that another
784 smaller *fraga tiki* be erected for it beside the principal *fraga*
769 *tiki* of its *lo*. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 *fraga tiki*, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the *kunu* exercised by a *yɔrka* explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his *yɔrka* will have full latitude to make you sick, to make
tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had
just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family," he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 *It is to be noted that a yɔrka cannot exercise a kunu*
784 *against its own lineage*. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in
several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions analogous to those of the *kunu* may be rather widespread there.

784 *Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu.* There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of
the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the mode of action of the *kunu* acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their *kunu* on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten.
They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation. In the course of the ages, the *kunu* have accumulated, and now certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six *kunu*.

/224 cont./

784 Kunu of the Dju lineage. The Dju lineage in 1958 was affected
613 by four kunu:

776 --An Ampuku which has exercised its vengeance since
787 time immemorial, to the point where the origin of this kunu
is no longer remembered, its bearers being Dabisa (G25) and
Adyidya (E19), two women about 50 years old. This Ampuku
formerly had as its bearer an ancestor named Agoabuchi, who
died about 1940. Two or three years after his death, it manifested itself in Dabisa;

--A Papa gadu named Adawa which has also pursued the lineage with a pitiless vengeance since the time of the great ancestors. It revealed itself to the preceding generation in an ancestress named Sapikê (D5), and a long time after her death it passed into Pamasa (E26), a woman of 35. This kunu has grown worse since /225/ two other Papa gadu revealed themselves in recent years in two women named Kulina (F9) and Diana (E9). They declared that they were the descendants of the first one and that they came in support of it;

784 --A yɔrka whose name nobody wanted to tell us because
613 they were so afraid of it. It is that of a man of the Awara Bakka
775 lineage, who committed suicide two or three generations ago
787 when he was unjustly accused of a crime by a man of the Dju
[762] lineage. Since then, this yɔrka has been exterminating the Dju
lineage little by little. Its bearer in 1958 was an old woman
of the Awara Bakka lineage, named Namu;

784 --A Kantamasu since, a very long time ago, an ancestress
613 whose name is forgotten inadvertently destroyed a termitary
776 while burning a clearing. It had as bearer a very old woman
787 named Wima (E3) (✝ 1957), and it manifested itself also in
Ata (F2).

784 Thus, in this group, the maleficent gods had exclusively
613 women as bearers; out of about 20 adult women, seven were
787 participating in the functioning of the kunu.
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/225 cont. /

784 One sees from this example how the influence of women,
613 exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of
787 custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the
562 group.

784 Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu
614 lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting.
571 Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups,
Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II
(Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes
an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor
[484] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the
round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to
[755] break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some
of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take
place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a
sick person.

784 The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu
614 god whose bearer was ○ Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) and which
776 passed after her death into ○ Pééchina (Dip. I, E42, L'Enfant
[787] Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people
of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the
Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years,
[761] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I, E6, living
[753] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, Kormotibo
village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

784 Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka
775 of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a
614 very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed.
[683] Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the
Dipélu.

/225 cont./

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
776 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis † in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead
reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three
members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika
village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by
Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux
when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with
Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
[153] observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
this kunu was counted Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village)
[155] who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the
god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death
[761] of Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particularly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama
(Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in ○ Apaïta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaala (Dip. II, G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared themselves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support of it.

/226 cont./

784 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This
182 is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the
legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at
Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when
it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl,
Santonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting
perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I, Apatu village).
(692) There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused
him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged
that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman
614 of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's
775 yɔrka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared
787 that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélu. It was not
claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked
the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

628 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went
the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolish-
614 ing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants,
some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush.
There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/226 cont./

628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled. /227/

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
775

784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Péëyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
776 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
613 by ○ Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957,
428 she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another
fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this
legacy and, in January, 1958; it manifested itself in ○ Léna
(Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yɔrka of the
775 Dipélu II lo, Gy..., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. ○ Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
776 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
[789] by △ Takwa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[953] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people
could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anèta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in
[782] uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have
sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anèta's
[776] daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
[787] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was
[782] supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then
got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the
most part in Asisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anèta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

784 613 776 787 /228 cont./

They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kotoïda († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 775 613 --The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some [787] time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

[761] It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville), that the death of Kotoïda in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A..., of the Papaïston 2 [684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. [762] But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 614 784 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The Papaïston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaïston 1 (the principal one) and Papaïston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. This remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We [114] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

784 /228 cont./
775 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yɔrka, borne in 1958 by
778 a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant
769 Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dɛ is celebrated
613 for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day
after death.

784 We have likewise not been able to collect complete
613 information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage,
114 divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the
kunu.

784 A kunu is exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole
613 assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its
bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo
775 living in Boniville. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage,
787 Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yɔrka revealed that it
[761] had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann
[684] (K3, E145), thus committing pikadu. The idea of the collective
responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni
that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach
Sintamann at all. /_ _/

784 /229/ A yɔrka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on
613 the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950;
775 a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion
761 with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka
619 these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka
784 upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, con-
619 sidering the fights which in former times set the two nations
613 against each other.

The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst
621 of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in
784 childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory pro-
[755] cedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they
make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced
[613] to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

/229 cont./
784 The kunu and Boni family life. It follows from the detailed
613 examination we have just made of the situation of the various
[428] lineages that the transmission of the kunu within the uterine
kin group is a rigorous law which suffers no exception whatever.
[571] The process of assimilation which permits in a certain measure,
[602] on the social plane, the integration of fragments of paternal
kin (like Awara Bakka 3) into a group does not come into play
[611] here. Unity with respect to the kunu can therefore be regarded
as a rigorous criterion of a common matrilineal origin. The
[829] Boni feel it as an obvious fact and in such a case it is the proof
that comes to their minds: "We are of the same origin since
we have the same kunu."

784 Thus the kunu appears as the principal cement of the
613 unity of the groups. It opposes the dissociation of the lineages;
571 this curse which weighs collectively upon a group and which
182 can be exorcised only collectively is an iron bond which
nothing can break. It obliges the Refugee Blacks to surmount
their individualistic tendencies, their egoism which, if they
acted freely, would soon have scattered them into a dust of
[888] separate persons. In the face of adversity each one accepts
with good grace obedience to the elders, who alone know how
[672] to talk to the gods and appease them. Nobody ever is indignant
or even surprised to be struck down for the offense of another;
there is not a movement of revolt or hostility against the one
who by his inattention or inconsiderateness has brought on
misfortune. On this plane the members of a lineage feel like
cells of a single body.

784 The collective legal responsibility of the members of a
613 group in the domain of customary law flows from the kunu.
672 We have observed that several times, notably at the time of
the obsequies for Kotoïda (Afi lineage) in October, 1956.
The president of the lãnti kuutu condemned the members of

/229 cont./

784 the Afi lineage to be thrashed symbolically for not having paid
613 sufficient attention to the warnings of the yɔrka which had
672 already made Kotoïda sick several times: by their negligence
they bore part of the responsibility for Kotoïda's death. Although the Afi and the Awara Bakka live together and regard themselves as members of one community, there was no question whatever of thrashing the Awara Bakka, and that because, not being subject to the same kunu, they bore no responsibility for this death. /230/

Likewise it is taken for granted that the descendants of Anèta (Aw.B.3) do not share the legal responsibility of the Awara Bakka proper (fractions 1 and 2). The fact that Anéta was the wife of Pééyon, captain of the Aw.B., and that her descendants are completely integrated into the life of the village, does not modify this legal situation at all. At the time of the brawl between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka in 1948, the Aw.B.3 were not taken to task, any more than the members of the Afi lineage.

771 The relations of the Boni with the entities which are believed to pursue them are most interesting. They seek only to appease the divinity, to calm it provisionally, and to live with it in a state of armed peace, if one may say so.

784
787 When divination has shown that a certain calamity was due to the kunu (sometimes the divinity in question reveals it immediately, through the mouth of its bearer, before being interrogated), it is asked why it struck: it always indicates a
[776] precise reason: usually it appears to be inspired by arbitrariness and a pitiless despotism. The Refugee Blacks are not surprised at this, for thus it is that they imagine the lower gods.

784 In 1948, A..., of the Dju lineage, fell ill; he felt
787 violent pains in his legs. Divination showed that it was the
776 doing of the Kãntamasu, which was exercising its kunu upon

/*230 cont.*/
784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof
of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against
684 the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, *pikadu*
(incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It
is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee
Blacks, *incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create
a new kunu.*

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
Awara Bakka *lo*, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[787] that he had been killed by the *kunu* (it was a *Papa gadu* which
[761] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed
[613] some time previously by another member of the *lo* named P....
The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed
incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a
Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white
cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river.
It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the
other possessed people in the village. If it is an *Ampuku*, it
will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in
a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several
thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased.
But it does not pardon and it will resume /*231*/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/231 cont./

776 which people do not hesitate to come to ask for remedies or
787 opinions, in spite of the evil they have done to the lineage and
perhaps will do tomorrow. It is even allowable to wonder
whether people do not prefer to consult the most wicked
divinities, for they are believed to be stronger.

784 The kunu focuses, turns aside toward high purposes the
771 blind forces of superstition, fear, and rancor. Several authors
114 who have written on the Refugee Blacks have stated that
754 calamities were almost unfailingly attributed to sorcery (wisi).
This is a grave error due to the fact that they believed they
could transpose to the Refugee Blacks what is observed among
the Creole populations of Surinam. If this were true, no
[787] positive social bond could exist. We believe we can assert
that among the Refugee Blacks divination lays the blame on
sorcery in only scarcely a tenth of the misfortunes. Here,
784 among other examples, are several typical cases concerning
[114] Boni who worked with us or whom we have known especially
well:

[753] --In 1948, Fintiman (Dju) falls ill (violent pains in the
[776] legs); kunu of a Kãntamasu.

[752] --In 1948, Galmo (Papaïston) is accidentally hurt (gun
backfire): kunu.

[753] --In 1949, Diolè, captain of the Dju lo, is smitten with
[761] hemiplegia and remains paralyzed.* He dies in 1951: kunu
[776] of a Papa gadu.

761 --In 1950, a Saramaka is killed in a hunting accident
(a gun in poor condition went off by itself): ɔ̃ŋgɔɔku (accident).

[754] --In 1951, Kanayen (Kotika) drowns while sailing at
night on the river: wisi.

[784] --In 1951, Loka (Dju) dies at the age of 70: kunu of an
[776] Ampuku.

752 --In 1951, F... (Dju) is seriously hurt by the falling of
784 a branch while cutting his clearing: kunu of a yɔrka.
775

/231 cont./

761 [784] [684] --In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Malèndo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (Ʒŋgɔɔku).

[784] [776] --In 1953, Béniti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[784] [754] --In 1954, Agyémési (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden: killed by Odun (he was a wisimã).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

[784] [775] --In 1956, Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly, aged about 50: kunu of a yɔrka.

784 776 --In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[753] [761] --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a Kãntamasu. /232/

75 761 784 /232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: illness, accident, were assumed.

772 In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conception of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces. 812 The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

/232 cont./

75 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings
784 which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The
776 kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically
beneficent, and which has come into a man after being
called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if
such is its whim of the moment.

752 In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the
776 house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to
784 the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right
hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed
[787] the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called
[428] on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for
it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was
not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is
transmitted from mother to son).

784 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yɔrka be confused
775 with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against
613 the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for
769 having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems
for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu.
Vengeance exercised by a yɔrka upon its own lineage is regarded
as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and
definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be
[762] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who
committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people
[753] of his lineage. Since then, his yɔrka has caused sicknesses
[761] and deaths in his own village.

776 Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a
784 lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage
613 if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti
[761] (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god
which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and
whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone
of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont./

787 In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god
784 exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he
776 rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon
him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to
[562] its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live
[888] surrounded by respect and fear.

784 /233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to
769 vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).

613 Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent
75 attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is
grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle.
[787] Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo
assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage, Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick.
[787] Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished
to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

784 The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand
775 man. The kunu exercised by a yɔrka creates very strange re-
613 lations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the
571 vengeance attributed to the yɔrka may be, the Boni have the
sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound to-
[782] gether. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without
people of the lineage of the yɔrka which pursues them with its vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the

784 775 613 578 /233 cont./ One conceives of the interminable dissensions which this situation entails: if the manifestations of the kunu do not cease, the victims let it be understood that the prayers were badly made.... /Figure 28 appears here./

761 628 613 [784] Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsible can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance against them. 628 Actually, these fights are above all symbolic; the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the fraga tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 613 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957 by the people of Asisi-Awara Bakka against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) and Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Eight years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipélu against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pétikona (Dip. II), whom her husband Boofo had taken to Surinam and who had died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boofo was responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of Asisi who, although three times more numerous, did not try

/234 cont./

628
613 to resist and fled to Boniville, where some took refuge in the water, others in the bush. About ten shacks were broken (without great damage), principally kitchens and empty sheds. Only one man could be caught and he received several punches.

The expedition of April, 1957 against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu and Kormotibo did not do much more harm. Only one good house was smashed, that of Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) because its owner, passing by in a boat on the river, insulted the aggressors....

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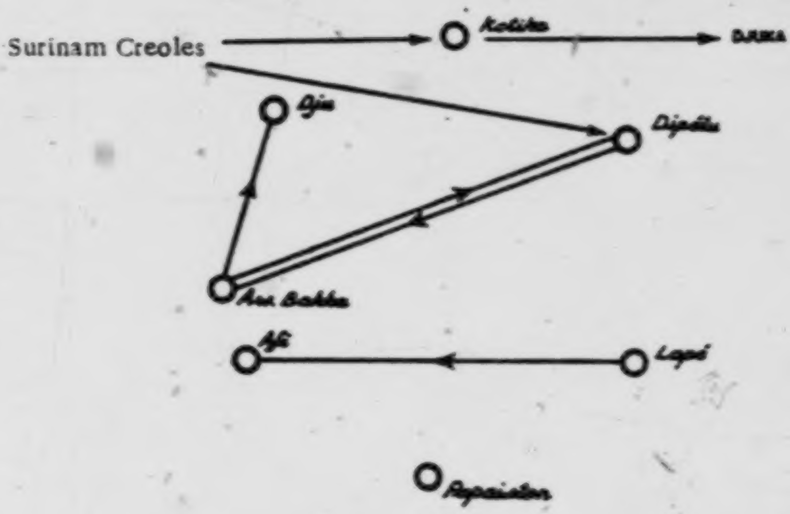
Surinam Creoles
Kolibo
DJUKA
Djin
Dipelu
Asa Bakka
Afi
Lapai
Papaisiton

Fig. 28. Schema of the kunu exercised upon one another by the various lineages.

/234 cont./ V

695 Fist-fighting is practiced also between individuals as a test for justification. If someone is unjustly accused of theft, this is the first idea which occurs to him, even before the oath before Odun. On this subject the Refugee Blacks have a conception analogous to that of the ancient Europeans, according to which God will come to the aid of the innocent person, giving him the strength of ten. This fighting, too, is subject to precise rules; it can be indulged in only publicly, in a village, never in the bush or on the river.

In spite of the importance attached to the oath before Odun, Boni custom does not make provision for any test for
628 justification having a recognized legal value. This is what makes
613 the symbolic battle indispensable. Intervention is then asked of the head of a neutral lineage in order to restore peace. If no death or calamity takes place allowing /235/ belief in the unappeased vengeance of a dead person, the affair is very quickly forgotten. For example, in examining the table of marriages among the various lineages, one ascertains that there are a number of normal unions between the Dipélu and the Awara Bakka.

643 In these kinds of affairs the grand man has two very
692 exact functions:

--To reveal pretense;

--To intervene as supreme arbiter in case of necessity. X

[787] Each time that someone is attacked by a fit of possession
[775] and claims to speak in the name of a yɔrka coming to exercise a kunu, the lineage head conducts him to the grand man who makes sure that there is no question of pretense.

643 •The grand man, in the thought of the Boni, has the
775 power to compel any yɔrka to manifest itself.

787 He conducts the person concerned to the fraga tiki and
695 invokes the yɔrka. If pretense is involved, the individual will not be able to articulate a syllable. If it is true possession, the yɔrka will speak through his mouth.

643 /235 cont./

775 A few years ago a Kormotibo woman was thus confounded.
787 She had wanted to pretend possession by a yɔrka in order to
695 blackmail another family.

784 Grand Man Difu recently forbade the bequeathing of gods and yɔrka exercising the kunu (1). People will wait for them to manifest themselves of their own accord. That will reduce the risks of pretense.

428 1. Let us recall that the dead
643 are questioned on this subject
[787] as for the apportionment of the
rest of their heritage.

643 The grand man's lineage does not exercise any kunu upon
613 another lineage, and no kunu is exercised upon it. For the Boni
775 this is a fundamental idea, because the grand man is precisely
784 the supreme recourse in case of persistent calamities attributed to the yɔrka of a dead person. The grand man has the power to exorcise all the dead Boni. If his lineage exercised a kunu or were victim of one, he would be judge and litigant at the same time.

When, with the death of Grand Man Difu, the Dikan lineage is extinct, and when the function passes to another lineage, consideration of the kunu exercised by the lineages upon one another will be determinative in the choice of his successor.

787
626

Divination; Premonition; Dreams

182 Divination. It plays an essential role among the Refugee Blacks as in all animistic societies. Individuals have recourse to it to inspire all important discussions; in large measure one can say that for them it takes the place of will and conscience.

/235 cont./

787 But divination is more than that; the interpretation it
626 gives of the events of daily life is the very mover of the ani-
182 mistic society; presenting calamities /236/ as the punishment
571 of offenses against customary law, it is constantly vitalizing
that law, conserving its practical value and its efficacity. What it expresses is not the hidden influence of chiefs or priests -- there are in fact neither chiefs nor priests among the Boni -- but the very consensus of the group, the deep feeling it has of its unity.

787 There are two large categories of divination:

The first consists of calling on a divinity through the medium of its bearer. For that, one applies to a person (of his [791] lineage if possible) who has a gadu. This is a service which is rarely refused. This person employs the appropriate procedure for calling his gita and enters into trances. The god speaks, the question is put to it; if it is well disposed, it may give the explanation or the advice requested. For example, one asks for advice before looking for another sector to make his clearings.

787 776 Suggestible as the Boni may be, they do not fail to perceive that all the gods interrogated do not give the same directions. So they think that certain ones are stronger than others; there are people whose gita is considered to be particularly good, others whom they have stopped consulting entirely. [791] The defunct head of Kotika village, Bayo, used to have a gita so remarkable that people would come from very far to consult it.

[829] [178] The general opinion is, furthermore, that nowadays everything is degenerating and that good gita are no longer seen as in the olden days.

787 [791] These consultations involve only a very modest remuneration, a bottle of tafia at most (1). If it is not a matter of a

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1. The remuneration of the possessed person is in question; the god always demands a payment for itself, of variable size according to its whim.

/236 cont./

787 very serious question, the asker contents himself with going to interrogate a divinity in which he has confidence. If, when put to the test, the advice turns out to be bad, he goes to consult others and if he obtains the same advice from two different directions, he stops there. If not, he appeals to the elders of [888] his village to bring into play the processes of divination which [791] they alone know.

[428] A second category of divinatory procedures consists in the use of "remedies," whose origin is unknown and which are transmitted like a personal belonging.

The process reputed to be the surest, in which everybody [824] has confidence, is called *pusu*. The instrument is composed simply of a rope made of fibers of the *Mauritia* (2) palm tree which has been dipped in an infusion of herbs; it is stretched horizontally between two stakes. The elder brings near it a machete blade heated red-hot, at the same time asking the question. If the answer is positive, the rope is cut when the iron has scarcely touched it. If the answer is no, they state that the red-hot iron remains in contact with the rope for an appreciable length of time without the rope's being cut.

They will say for example: *ɛfu na Ampuku siki X, a how a 'ã mu do: fosi a kɔti:* If it is an Ampuku which is making X sick, the machete must cut (the rope) before (even) reaching it.

[439] 2. Palm tree which grows in the coastal savannas and whose fibers are bought from the Galibi Indians. The word *pusu*, like *gita*, *kandu*, *mula*, is of Congolese origin. In Kikongo, *mpuusu* = raffia palm tree.

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787 In this way they put a series of questions entailing yes or no answers and which narrow down the problem more and more.

791 For this divinatory procedure, they pay the man who has brought it into play three liters of tafia, two pieces of cloth, and one machete.

787 695 This procedure is put into play to confound thieves and adulterers. The plaintiff publicly calls on the accused to come and undergo the test: Mi ɔ tya yu go a sweli! If he refuses, it is the equivalent of a confession.

In 1947, Liki (Aw.B.), accused of having stolen 20 grams of gold by a man from Loka, was thus put to the test. The rope was not cut. He was declared innocent and it was the plaintiff who had to pay the price of the test.

In 1950, the uncle of Tabayé (Dip. I) accused him of having committed adultery with his wife. He denied it, but he was put to the test which gave a positive result; he confessed immediately and begged his uncle's pardon. Then they were reconciled. Of course it was he who paid the price of the test.

787 Another important divinatory procedure is the Kumɛnti bui (ring of Kumɛnti). This is a surprising form of divination by pendulum. The ring, which is made of fibers, is ordinarily kept hidden by its owner. Very few people have any. The ring, suspended at the end of a string, is put in oscillation. Its owner puts a question to it. If the answer is affirmative, it oscillates from right to left. If it is negative, it describes a circle.

[825] Another procedure is sometimes used after a sacrifice to know whether the god has received it favorably: it consists of killing a rooster to examine the color of its testicles: if they are found to be black, the sacrifice has not been accepted.

791 /237 cont./

688 888 Not just anyone may resort to divination on behalf of someone else: only the eldest have the right to do it, and it has happened that the grand man punished offenders severely.

777 [752] [761] Fate. The Refugee Blacks do not attribute all misfortunes to suprahuman causes. They have the notion of natural accident, ɔ̃ŋgɔɔku. They say ɔ̃ŋgɔɔku miti mi, or again ogi miti mi, misfortune met me. They also accept the idea of natural death. They usually regard as natural death that of the very old, the infirm from birth, and sickly children.

[787] [792] Divination blames fate in ten to 20 per cent of accidents. It is the usual explanation for hunting accidents. 2

772 /238/ Magic Forces

As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks consider beings and things as a world of forces capable of acting on one another, outside of time and space, according to laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge transmitted by tradition since the 754 789 time of the ancestors. They distinguish negative magic forces, wisi, which have the effect of diminishing the vital force of men, which makes them sick or kills them, and positive magic forces, ɔbia, which come from the gods: the ɔbia comes to increase the vital force of men, giving them protection, immunity, or knowledge. But no power is in essence a principle of good or evil; nothing is impossible for him who knows the formulas; this is why the magic of the Refugee Blacks is reduced to a perpetual and indecisive struggle between ɔbia and wisi.

754 [673] Wisi. Wisi is sorcery in the African sense of the term, that is, the use of magic procedures to harm others; wisi is for the Refugee Blacks the pre-eminently criminal act, at the same time against morals and against society. The struggle against

/238 cont./ The struggle against

754 781 wisi is one of the foundations of their social life, protection against the undertakings of the wisimã one of the most constant worries of each person. Nobody knows these wisimã with certainty; one is reduced to vague suspicions of this or that person, which one dares not formulate for lack of proof. No one knows exactly how they operate. Yet each one feels their enterprises everywhere about him, and those who by reason of their wealth or successes with women have the most reason to believe themselves exposed to jealousy live in anxiety.

754 [828] (784) Intense jealousy or hate are already a form of wisi, and this is why each one must try to drive them out of his heart; besides, he would risk falling ill or being subject to all sorts of calamities for having broken his oath. But the wisimã employs explicit procedures:

--Burying a bottle (beli bata) containing sorcery under his enemy's door. When the latter comes home, the sorcery will (751) penetrate into him. So some Refugee Blacks carry a special ɔbia against this kind of aggression: thanks to this ɔbia, they will feel a sharp pain in the tip of the foot when approaching the bottle, which they will thus uncover easily.

754 774 --Kisi akkaa, stealing the akka of the enemy. The latter then becomes mad. The Boni believe that the wisimã operates at night, taking advantage of the fact that the enemy's akka has left his body to wander. He captures it by attracting it with what it likes. For that, one must know the name of his enemy's akka, know its tastes and preferences; all things which each Refugee Black will carefully hide, even from his comrades. What the wisimã does with the akka was not clear to any of our informants. He tries either to capture it in order to deprive his enemy of it, or to make it hostile to its bearer, or to inspire it with abnormal ideas or tastes. If someone manifests an abnormal change /239/ in tastes or behavior, people will be inclined to think that a wisimã was able to act upon his akka.

/239 cont./

754 [774] [929] On this point it is taken for granted that Indian magic is much more powerful than African magic, and that any Indian is capable of attracting his enemy's *akka*.

--Transforming himself into a vampire (*azemã*) and flying at night in search of sleeping men in order to suck their blood and eat them in spirit; this conception, closely related to the one which the West Indians have of the *soucougnan*, comes from Dahomey (in Fon, *aze* = sorcery). It is said, as in Dahomey, that the *azemã* flies by emitting fire through the anus.

--*Seni ɔgi sani*: this is what the Creoles call "sending bad baggage." This is acting upon a living being or an inanimate object to make it behave in abnormal fashion at the expense of the enemy. For example, if someone is bitten by a snake or if a child is carried off by a tiger, the action of a *wisimã* will be blamed first, for normally snake and tiger do not attack. But there is no material limit to the action of the *wisimã*, who can make a branch fall on his enemy's head or make a cartridge of dynamite burst prematurely.

[825] The idea that the sorcerer may transform himself into a jaguar, dog, or other animal is not assumed by the Refugee Blacks. Neither do they have the idea of brotherhoods of sorcerers.

754 695 How does society defend itself against the *wisimã*? There is first of all the test oath. At regular intervals, every two or three years for example, the grand man gathers together all the Boni to the last man before Odun's chapel, and makes each one drink a little of a magic liquid while inviting him to utter the formula: *ɛfu mi e meki wisi fu dede a sama, mi mu dede*: If I do sorcery to make someone die, I must die. This is what is called *diŋgi sweri*, to drink the test. Actually, it is a harmless liquid, but each one is convinced that a *wisimã* would not be able to drink it without dying from it. If someone stubbornly refuses to present himself at the ceremony, he is not obliged to, but he has denounced himself: suspicions will be directed on him henceforward.

/239 cont./

754 Trial for sorcery does not exist among the Boni, but a
787 procedure exists which allows for pinning down suspicions.

After each death the dead person is asked the question: Is it wisi that killed thee? The question is put last (they first ask kunu, then fyo-fyo /see p. 398/).

If it is wisi, they ask: Is it such-and-such a family? (In general it is in the lineage itself), then the names of the lineage members are uttered successively until there is a positive response.

754 The one who is thus accused of wisi can be summoned
695 to justify himself before the grand man, but that can only have the character of an investigation and not a trial. The suspected individual may not be challenged. They accept the fact that it is only a matter of presumption and that the dead accuser can lie, pursuing vengeance beyond the grave.

The Refugee Blacks declare that there is no certainty about wisi.

754 A remarkable principle of customary law is that if a
613 member of a matrilineage /240/ is believed to have killed one
692 of his "brothers," the judiciary power of the Boni cannot interfere. It is an affair purely within the lineage.

754 Thus no one can be challenged or expelled for an act of sorcery. If one suspects somebody strongly, one will avoid him, one will turn the cold shoulder to him, all the time remaining polite, but one will not show anything. To this principle is attached a very noble idea, that of the interdiction of vengeance. He who is victim of sorcery must under no circumstances do countersorcery. He can only ask for the protection of the ɔbia. One must not under any circumstances ask a divinity or his ancestors to harm his aggressor.

754 Among the Refugee Blacks there is only one sanction
775 against the wisimã: They will necessarily be found out at their
787 death. The yɔrka of the dead person, interrogated by the elders,

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775 /240 cont./
787 will be obliged to confess: "It is I who killed So-and-So and So-and-So." They immediately inform the grand man, who
754 orders the usual procedure against wisimã: Ceremonies are
766 suspended, the body is transported by boat to a place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country, and it is abandoned in the bush without being buried. Grand Man Difu is trying to modify this custom and to compel burial of wisimã in a special cemetery, but without great success up to now, it seems.

754 There is no broko dɛ. The spouse may remarry immediate-
765 ly. Since the property of the deceased are presumed to be ill-
768 gotten, inheritance is cancelled. The house is destroyed and thrown into the water, the boat abandoned to the current. Personal belongings of the deceased are turned over to the grand man who distributes them to whom he wishes.

The near relatives of persons thus designated are overcome with shame but can say nothing. Not a bit of responsibility is imputed to them.

754 How does society protect itself against the sorcery of the
775 wisimã from beyond the grave? According to Grand Man Difu,
784 this is a problem which does not come up. The wisimã has been killed by Odun as punishment for his crimes. Since every being draws its force from the divine, he has no more force, he is destroyed as a being, he is no longer anything but an empty shadow incapable of doing harm.

754 In fact, among the Refugee Blacks these trials of dead
775 people are very rare. Whereas about 15 persons die per year
782 on the average in Boni country, including about ten adults,
[165] in the last 20 years (1) only about 20 persons were revealed to be wisimã.

(1) Disregarding the period 1957-1959 when a definite fresh outbreak of the fear of wisimã was observed.

/240 cont./

754 be wisimã. We were able to draw up the list of these from 775 information from diverse sources which agreed very well.

787 In nearly every case persons were concerned who had already been accused, during their lifetime, of being wisimã; and on whom suspicions had been directed either by reason of their solitary life and irascible character or as a consequence of a series of coincidences.

754 828 In general, they tend to accuse of wisi any individual who systematically isolates himself, shows ill will in the observation of customary law, or shows himself particularly selfish, irascible, or jealous. /[illegible]/

754 648 /241/ They tend also to suspect those who in their youth had abandoned the tribe for years to settle among the Creoles, and those who frequent the Creoles of the region, known as quimboiseurs, or who go too often to Saint Laurent or Paramaribo to consult lukumã (clairvoyants) (1).

1. Consulting a clairvoyant is not contrary to the laws of Odun. Infringement of these laws begins when one claims to act upon other people.

754 434 828 Also deemed suspect of wisi is anyone who gets rich too quickly or shows an immoderate love of money. A hard-working man who earns his living in broad daylight is never accused of wisi. But the one who engages in trade is suspect. It is thought, for example, that G..., who furnished a shop and earns much money, is a "pledged man." It is said also of F..., a fishing contractor particularly greedy for profit. But neither has been accused openly.

152 /241 cont./
828 **Jealousy.** To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is
754 not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They re-
777 gard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing mis-
152 fortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is
157 very marked in their character, associated with an individualism
verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of
754 wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes
152 attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be
828 jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him
die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of
152 her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy
156 is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one ob-
828 serves it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which
576 they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well,"
but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they
say, "I found a little."

152 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building
156 a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give
828 cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound reper-
[182] cussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee
[463] Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized
professions and trade among them.

Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks
[183] have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so,
[571] tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were
given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

76 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown
181 to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks,
725 are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse
828 from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

754 /241 cont./
Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were
[126] related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the
narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the
facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N..., of Kotika, was working gold with
another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter
was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His
near relatives blamed N..., accusing him of wisi. In the
night N... took refuge at Benzdorp and took passage on a Djuka
[167] boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo.
Since then his sister T... has gone to join him. They have
left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dipélu II), while boating on the lower
river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told
us the story) to stay in a dive for the time necessary to fill a
five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up,
he had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family
[578] blamed one P..., of Kotika village, whose wife N... had
left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats.
[683] They insulted him, they presented Toko's decomposed body
to him: "Eat him, since thou hast killed him like game."
P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that
he be left alone, turning him over to Odun to punish if he were
guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died
and was declared wisimã.

[464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S..., of Kotika, about 60 years
old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Benzdorp
Creole who raised oxen. One morning this cattle-raiser saw
one of his oxen covered with blood coming from wounds which
bore tooth marks and could not have been made by bats. He
followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

/242 cont./

754 He accused him of being an azemã (vampire) and of drinking the ox's blood. S... answered nothing, which appeared to everyone obvious proof of his guilt. He untied his boat and went away. Since then everybody in Kotika avoids him; they abstain from accusing him personally in order not to become victims of his sorcery.

Agyémési affair. -- Agyémési, an old man of Asisi village
(Awara Bakka) who died in 1953, was a solitary and morose man
with odd ways. For a long time he had been accused by B...
(of Loka) and by N..., a Djuka living among the Boni, of
being a wisimã and of having made them sick. He had even
[695] been accused before the grand man, had denied it, and the
grand man according to usage had told him: "We leave to God
[167] the job of punishing thee if thou art guilty." Agyémési, in
order to flee his persecutors, had settled in the Indian village
of Aloïké.

His accusers insisted to people of his lineage that he be
brought and publicly interrogated. A... and P... were sent,
who went to get him by making him believe that the council
of the Awara Bakka lo, putting an end to a long dispute, had
decided to name him captain as the doyen of the lo. Without
[695] mistrust, he followed them to Asisi. He was received by his
accusers who insulted him tumultuously, without, however, there
[154] being any blows. The poor man remained speechless, which
appeared to all to be the obvious proof of his guilt. He took
to his bed and five days later he was dead (1).

1. The Refugee Blacks are so
suggestible that the sole fact
of seeing oneself cursed and
abandoned by all must bring on
a psychological shock capable
[171] of bringing death. Similar cases
have been observed in Africa.

/242 cont./

754 Of course he was recognized as a *wisimã* by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the *papay* on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a *wisi* man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /243/

[784] /243/Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not
yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when
he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did
not recover after his death from the maladies which they were
attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice
white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact
reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating
the effects of *wisi*).

754 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that
it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of *wisi*,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his *kunu* (most of
the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punishments in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed *wisimã*: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against
his accusers' lineage a *kunu* which still lasts today. He had been
wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the *kunu* more than
[178] through care for humanity, that these punishments have been
abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the *wisimã* in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that
rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which
might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions.
As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without
any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

/243 cont./

754 [683] only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 695 182 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[784] By its notion of the kunu which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by the extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks definite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 177 182 754 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas and the West Indies, even though /244/ they have been under the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their

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171 image of the world. Since magic practices are rejected by
177 religion, since it even denies their reality, one does not think,
182 when one finds oneself constrained to have recourse to them,
754 of transferring to them the notion of good and evil which it
teaches. Black magic gets in almost inevitably because a person believes he must defend himself; then its use becomes habitual, and the two forms of magic end up by mixing together and being no longer regarded as fundamentally different from each other.

171 Cases of wisi and Boni customary law. In African villages,
754 cases of sorcery are interpreted by interminable and useless
695 discussions, wild accusations, protestations of innocence,
sometimes more or less sincere confessions, oaths and legal tests with always contested results. These cases are never finished; they are in permanent evolution, sometimes for months and years. Opinion moves successively onto different hypotheses according to events which take place, seeking its way gropingly like a man lost in darkness.

754 It is clear that the first lawgivers of the Refugee Blacks,
695 by carrying judgment back to the death of those concerned and
182 by refusing the wisima any kind of pardon or compromise, tried
to prevent the development of these sad crises. What is the use of discussing interminably, since there is no certain proof, and since nobody may confess? But customary law collides on this point with tendencies too deep to be entirely restrained. The laws of Odun are not always obeyed to the letter, and it happens sometimes that the Boni lose their footing in the
[571] observance of their customary law. Then crises take place
among them, as violent and confused as in the villages of Black Africa, going as far as paralyzing social life for several weeks; then peace returns for several months, sometimes for several years.

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754 In 1958, a Boniville woman, N..., was convicted of
695 having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die.
571 She confessed, a rare thing in this kind of case, and the
materiality of the facts did not appear doubtful. The Boni
were strongly impressed by this unprecedented event, and for
several weeks the members of the lineage concerned were in
such agitation that one could have believed they had lost their
reason. In Boniville they "held court" continually for nearly
two months, and they discussed so much that farm work was
neglected and part of the rice crop lost.

754 What were they going to do with this woman? The laws
695 of Odun forbade killing her, no more could she be expelled.
683 The Boni made discreet overtures to the administration to find
[648] out whether it was not possible to have her imprisoned. They
were surprised to learn that French law does not recognize the
offense of sorcery. Somebody then proposed having her admitted as a servant at the leprosarium of the Acarouani on the /245/ coast. This suggestion produced a surprising result; the Boni were unanimous in thinking that making someone who was not a leper live in a leprosarium was a punishment worse than death, and they resolved to pardon her.

How does one go about it, since the laws of Odun do not permit pardoning a wisimã? Nobody could give us a satisfactory justification on this, but in 1959 A..., the preceding year spurned and maltreated, had taken up normal living again in her village.

754 In fact, a case of wisi is terminated only upon the death
761 of the person concerned. If a man who has been accused of
784 wisi during his lifetime dies accidentally, or is struck by a
fulminating sickness, the fact that he has been chastised by
Odun appears as incontestable proof. The case is fixed in the
memory of the group in a specific form and will be given as
an example to inspire respect for customary law.

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754 766 Burial of a wisimã. We transcribe here an account given by a witness of this scene, K..., of Papaïston village, withholding the exact date and place.

"It was at the time of the clearings, people were in the farming habitations and the village was almost deserted. I was going fishing with P..., of Loka. We had moored our boat and were walking at the edge of the water when our attention was attracted by a nauseous odor which came from an unoccupied house. There we found the cadaver of a woman, E..., dead for two or three days. She had tried to break into the house by raising the roof, but she had remained wedged between two beams and smothered to death. Since she knew the house to be empty, she could not have had any other intention than to lodge an evil spell; after disengaging the body in the presence of witnesses, we went to inform the grand man who commanded, the motive seeming to be clear, that the yɔrka be interrogated on the spot without making a coffin.

989 "Before a council composed of half a dozen men and two village heads, the interrogation began; the dead woman was carried in an old boat bottom; at times I myself served as bearer. Pressed with questions, she confessed that she had wisi (1) and that she had been killed by Odun. The case was clear. We were ordered to transport the body to the place reserved for cursed people, downstream from Boni country. When we arrived there the body was again borne on the heads of two men to ask it to choose the spot where it wanted to be abandoned. The dead woman drew us far into the forest, wandered a moment, then stopped. We abandoned her on the

1. They say commonly "to have wisi," as they say "to have an ɔbia," "to have a remedy."

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ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

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Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

[578] That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N..., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wisi in all misfortunes that occur.

[167] In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village. [787] It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

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[776] 1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

754 /246 cont./
181 of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as
178 the victims most pleasing to the demon.
[787] Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[784] --Four wisimĩ killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[761] --One death by the action of a wisimĩ, or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

754 The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to
648 get from the lukumĩ what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a piayeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

754 In 1951, G..., of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old,
755 felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a
648 Creole maĩtif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had piayé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maĩtif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the piayeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

754 /246 cont./
755 The maītif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved,
that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate
[692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried
before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes
[695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without
appeal and inflicts a punishment on the one who was wrong
[778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad-
[262] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the
offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im-
[754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks
fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral
and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

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attenuated form of *wisi*; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

789 *ɔbia*. The Refugee Blacks use the word *ɔbia* (1) to designate

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1. The term *ɔbia* is used by the Refugee Blacks when they are speaking to outsiders, to designate positive magic, but in reality this term has a very different meaning in their language. It designates any kind of magic action, negative as well as positive; likewise the term *ɔbiamã* has the sense of sorcerer as well as that of holder of a remedy.

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The Boni among themselves use the word *deesi*, remedy, instead of *ɔbia*. They do not use the word *deesimã* in place of *ɔbiamã*. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "*A sabi Papa gadu sani*" (he knows the things of *Papa gadu*).

[787]
The term *gadumã* designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

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In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms *ɔbia* and *ɔbiamã* to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.

/247 cont./

789 the object to which is attached a magic force, as well as that force itself. But there is no confusion in their minds; the object [755] is only a simple support, it is nothing by itself. The traveler who sees them prepare an infusion of leaves for a sick person may be tempted to believe that they attach to this leaf the power of acting against a certain disease; that would be an error, they attach to these leaves and to the white clay, *pɛmba*, the power of holding, /248/ of condensing the vital force which emanated from a certain god. It is the god which "makes *ɔbia*," and not men; men do nothing but collect this energy and apply it.

755 787 The Boni distinguish two categories of magic remedies:

--Those which come from a god through the medium of a possessed person. The god must be consulted each time, and the remedy it gives is effective only for the asker alone, and for a limited time; it can act only when the god has been paid, usually in the form of drink or piece of cloth; in principle nothing is owed to the possessed person (they admit that he benefits by the payment made to the god), but the custom is to give him a bottle of tafia.

Consultation of a possessed person is in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks the normal mechanism by which the *ɔbia* descends from the god to men.

755 776 Certain *Ampuku* gods might give remedies effective for a particular disease and for any asker, remedies which could be transmitted from one man to another. Unfortunately we could not obtain exact information about this.

755 756 --Those whose origin is unknown, and which have been transmitted from one man to another for a very long time. It is believed that these are remedies which were found empirically by a man in days past; this is the case with many remedies specific for this or that disease.

In such a case payment is made to the possessor of the remedy and to him alone.

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755 823 (174) White clay, *pɛmba* (the word and the rite are of Congolese origin), does not undergo any special preparation. In the thought of the Refugee Blacks it has the power to fix upon a man's body the magic influence of the infusion of leaves.

791 Among the Boni, except for the cult of Odun, there are no priests, strictly speaking, invested with a function at the same time social and religious. A large number of persons 756 791 are regarded as "knowing remedies." This notion implies at once *knowledge* and *power*. In general the *ɔbiamã* is believed to hold only a specialized power: for example, he knows how to prepare a hunting *ɔbia*, or an *ɔbia* for protection against *wisimã*. This power he received from his father (as an exception, it seems, from his uncle), who instructed him, before dying, in the specialized rites it requires and transmitted his power to him by giving him *mula*.

To give *mula* to someone, one blows into his hands, one puts them on his head while uttering a formula by which one transmits to him a certain power or piece of magic knowledge.

What is the criterion of legitimacy? Who has the right to call himself an *ɔbiamã*? It seems that basically everything is reduced to this: the *ɔbiamã* has the conviction, the *sensation* that he holds this power; as for his clients, they believe they observe the efficacy of his *ɔbia*; if they stop having confidence in his remedy, they will abstain from coming to ask it of him, that is all; no social prohibition comes to limit the action of (754) the *ɔbiamã*. The grand man intervenes only against someone who might claim to hold remedies to harm another person or to capture his will, which would be *wisi*. /2[illegible]/

888 /249/ The Boni accept the possibility of deception as regards *ɔbia*, especially by people who are too young, but they have the conviction that the elders (people over 55-60) possess wisdom and that one can apply to them with complete confidence.

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751 Principal ɔbia. The Kumɛnti bui, bracelet of Kumɛnti, which is not to be confused with the man nɛŋge ɔbia, is materialized by a bracelet of fibers not worn on the arm but shut up in one's small trunk. It is a polyvalent ɔbia which insures at the same time [787] the protection of its owner against the machete and the gun, his material prosperity and his moral security, for it furnishes him with a very highly esteemed procedure of divination.

751 787 This ɔbia must be prepared each time on the orders of a Kumɛnti and in its presence in the body of a possessed person. It is the Kumɛnti which designates the leaves to go and get and the processing to make them undergo; according to the information which we have been able to get, this consists of plunging into the infusion of leaves first a machete, then an axe, both red hot, while the postulant recites formulas intended to fix in the ɔbia the power he desires (that the machete may not cut me, that I become rich, etc.).

751 The man nɛŋge ɔbia, exclusively intended for protection against the machete and gun, is materialized by a crudely fashioned iron ring clasping the arm a little below the shoulder (1).

> 1. The fact of wearing an iron ring on the arm does not necessarily correspond with possession of this ɔbia. In general, commoner ɔbia intended to protect from leprosy are concerned.

This ɔbia must not be confused with the ɔbia Kumɛnti. Obtaining possession by a Kumɛnti and the man nɛŋge obia /sic/ are two different things, corresponding to different rites.

/249/cont. /

751 Possession by a *Kumɛnti* gives, they say, invulnerability
[787] during the time of the trance, but in his ordinary state the
individual remains vulnerable (they say only that in case of
danger the *gita* "rises" immediately).

Someone who has a *man nɛŋga ɔbia* has no trances of possession, but they state that he is permanently invulnerable (except for breaking of the *kina*). In order to obtain this *ɔbia* one must have himself "washed" for a very long time by an elder who knows the leaves in question. He delivers them already crushed so that no one may be able to know this secret outside of the son or nephew to whom he bequeaths it.

It is necessary to continue to be washed four times a year for 15 days each time, to keep up the force of the *ɔbia*.

[515] During these 15 days one bathes three times a day, in
secret (in principle nobody knows that you have this *ɔbia*).
[834] During these periods one must have no relation with a woman,
even to talk to her.

They state that someone who has a *man nɛŋge ɔbia* can be struck by blows of a machete and even receive a gunshot with impunity.

[173] They believe that this *ɔbia*, in the past called *man feti*
ɔbia, was obtained by the ancestors at the time of the wars
against the whites; still today it inspires an unshakeable con-
[164] fidence. /250/ In October, 1952 we saw M..., a man of 45
with great good sense, make a deep gash in his leg while
[752] cutting a liana, in spite of his *ɔbia*. Doubt did not cross his
mind for a second: he told us that certainly he had unknowingly
eaten something contrary to the *kina* of the *ɔbia*. Since we
were working near some villages, he went immediately to find
the master of the remedy to have the power restored. For
nothing in the world would he have left for a long round of work
in the bush with the feeling that he was at the mercy of an
accident.

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751 Next in the preoccupations of the Refugee Blacks come
the ɔbia called tapu, that is to say, protection. There exist
numerous kinds adapted to the various dangers of a supernatural
order (protection against other divinities, against the maleficent
entities of the bush, against the wisimã).

[776] The Ampuku are generally asked for tapu against the
[754] wisimã. We saw a remarkable one in front of the house of F...
(Dju). Its owner was not a little proud of it and he talked about
it to us freely.

751 The ɔbia, placed at ground level in front of the door,
778 was composed of a crude representation in clay of a head in
[532] which appeared two wide-open eyes: in front of it were planted
in the ground three plant clusters including a planting of groundnuts
and one of maize; the whole was topped by a small basket
containing an egg. It was necessary to water the ɔbia with a
certain infusion of leaves at regular intervals to restore its force.
751 This ɔbia insured infallible protection against wisimã; in fact,
754 none of them would have been able to cross the threshold without
stubbing his toe on the door frame in spite of all his precautions;
F... stated that his ɔbia constituted by this fact an effective
means of detection of wisimã, for it was enough for him to
invite suspects to enter his hut, to know what to think; the
wisimã refused, for fear of thus being given away in the eyes
of all; one could thus at least pin down suspicions.

751 Other Ɔbia are called sama mɔfu tetɛy (ɔbia against
[411] "people's mouths," that is, people's jealousy). They are nearly
always seen on fine guns; they have a cord to hold them made
of mɔriti palm fibers, to which two cowries are fastened.

755 The ɔbia intended to treat diseases generally have for
support a calabash containing the infusion of leaves and a ball
of pɛmba (kaolin). The person concerned sprinkles himself
several times a day with this liquid.

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789 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The
396 opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at
[673] forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is
789 one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of
[648] the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the
[776] work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an
[787] old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this
464 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return
776 to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

/251 cont./

464 776 decision of the god and under some pretext or other refused to resume work. In August, 1952, while we were on a work trip /en mission/, an ɔbiamã made it known that an Ampuku was 751 791 willing to give a tapu, that is, an ɔbia of protection, against this Papa gadu. We were present at a discussion in the course [465] of which several Boni planned to take up this work again, but asking for raised wages to cover the expenses of the ɔbia (1).

[191] 1. Situations of this kind are common in the Guianan forest, even among Creoles. For difficult or unusual work, the high wages demanded serve in part to remunerate magicians.

751 435 771 These expenses amounted to about 5,000 francs per person, or:

--3,000 for the payment of the god, including red cloth, dark-blue cloth, white beads, beer, rum, cowries; the ɔbiamã would take them to set them out in the forest.

--1,500 for payment for the work of the ɔbiamã, including a piece of canvas /toile/, beer, a container /bidon/ of powder, a chicken.

751 The remedy would consist of an infusion of leaves with which one should "wash one's body" morning and evening for the duration of the work.

As for the Creole foreman, he prudently had himself assigned to another job.

751 776 They have the habit of asking an Ampuku for protection against a Papa gadu and conversely (we have cited an example of this above), but they do not ask a Kumɛnti for protection; the Kumɛnti occupy themselves only with illnesses.

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751 Renewal of the power of the ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks have
789 the idea that no magic power can last if it is not renewed by
formulas and offerings appealing to the god from which it came.
[824] Each year, at variable dates for each ɔbia, one must renew
the power of the ɔbia by dipping the support object into a
maceration of certain leaves. This renewal may not take place
on January 1. On that day all leaves lose their power. /252/

[768] Mr. W. F. van Lier writes that among the Djuka, objects
(bracelets, etc.) serving as support for a magic remedy are
thrown away upon the death of the owner for they have lost
[184] all power. The Boni do not have this conception; with them,
[428] these objects keep their value for the dead person's son provided
that before dying he voluntarily transmitted them to him by
giving him mula.

789 Transmission of ɔbia. An ɔbia is often bequeathed simultaneously
428 to a son and to a nephew. Care is taken not to lose the ɔbia
613 for the lineage. Thus it is that certain lineages have certain
ɔbia as their specialty.

789 Kãndu. The Refugee Blacks call kãndu a magic object intended
[171] to protect property (houses, harvests) against theft. This
procedure is also very much used by the Creoles.

There are three common kinds of kãndu:

--Piiti tiki kãndu. It is made of a split stick stuck into the ground, in the slit of which dry banana leaves or small sticks are placed horizontally. This device originated in Dahomey.

--Sikopu kãndu. It involves a shovel stuck into the ground in front of the house (the idea of the shovel is associated with the idea of death, for this instrument is used particularly in digging graves).

--Bɔɔ kãndu, made up of a bow and arrow planted in the ground.

/252 cont./

789 The one who installs a kãndu utters the formula: mi poti yu ya, ɛfu a sama kɔm fu fufu mi sani, yu mu siki ɛn (I put thee here; if someone comes to steal my belongings, thou must make him sick).

[784] If someone goes beyond [it] and commits a theft, he will be struck sooner or later with various sicknesses.

According to the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, the kãndu is blind and strikes as well the friend who came to take objects because he received previous authorization to do it. So, many forego placing kãndu, as with us, people hesitate to set wolf-traps for fear of causing accidents.

789 784 428 However, the kãndu does not act upon the people who have the same basic interdiction (bwasi kina) as the one who placed it. This conception shows that these interdictions transmitted from father to children really are the mark of true patrilineages.

694 789 754 In fact, we have ascertained several times, there are burglaries in Boni country in spite of the kãndu and people do not succeed in uncovering the burglars; it is infinitely probable that one must not see in this the stamp of freethinkers who do not believe in sorcery; these are people who have obtained from a wɩsimã a talisman of black magic stronger than the kãndu! At least this is the explanation their victims give.

789 751 One can lift a kãndu on behalf of any man, whom one wants, for example, to send to get an object which one has forgotten; for that it is sufficient to give him mula: one blows into one's hands and lays them on the man's head, saying: mi puu a kãndu gi yu, a 'ã mu du a sani ãŋga yu: I withdraw the kãndu for thee, it must not do anything to thee. /253/

Mula can be given retroactively: If someone perceives that he has inadvertently incurred the chastisement of a kãndu, he has several days to be able to ask for mula from the owner, for the action of the kãndu is slow.

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Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage
or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold
shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But
828 if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to main-
753 tain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, be-
761 ing struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect
789 of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this
[825] force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small,
common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person
dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects
will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment
of death.

776 Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent
[775] entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature
by contrast to the taku yɔrka, wandering spirits of dead people
[753] rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of
[828] consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter,
rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are be-
lieved to reside in plants, like the kɔtkɔti, others are thought
to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people
believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔbia,
and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain
number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the
leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

/253 cont. /

751 417 [824] Tyifunga (1). This is the name of the magic enclosures made
of shoots /"tongues"/ of pinot palm, pina tãngo, attached to a
string, with which on certain occasions a village is completely
surrounded. These enclosures are thought to bar the passage of
the evil spirits of the bush (taku sani); they are put up especially
in the case of an epidemic, as well as before the great festivals
which attract a crowd of persons among whom wisimã can slip
789 in. After putting the enclosure in place, people arrange themselves in a line at one end of the village and move along slowly so as to sweep its whole surface, firing guns, making all the noise possible by striking metallic objects and striking the ground with reeds to expel the evil spirits. This is what is called naki tyifunga. The elders repeat the formula: "U naki tyifunga fu ɔgi na: mu ku a so (We strike tyifunga so that the evil (spirits) may not be able to come to earth)."

751 417 The magic fence is then left in place until it is rotten.

753 76 Beliefs about leprosy. Lepers are buried at the limits of the cemetery, but they are not considered cursed, and mourning for them is carried out normally.

753 784 /254/ They take for granted that if someone is attacked by leprosy, it is because he has "broken" his bwasi kina. They think that an enemy can, because of ill will, hide a bit of the forbidden fare in the food. This is why the Boni do not willingly tell one another their interdictions.

1. They also use the word azãg, borrowed from the Fon of Dahomey.

/254 cont./

784 If someone realizes that he has broken his kina, he goes
756 to see, not an ɔbiaman, but the specialist-healer of leprosy
751 and asks him to treat him by way of prevention.

411 Beliefs about guns and hunting. The gun, which entered the
832 everyday life of the Refugee Blacks two centuries ago, has taken
[177] an important place in their magic. It is the symbol of virility.
[558] A Refugee Black who no longer has a gun is a man humiliated
and almost dishonored. As one of them explained to us in begging
us to help him replace his old gun eaten by rust: "If you cannot present yourself before the women with a machete, hunting
bag on your shoulder, and gun in your hand, you are not a
man."

411 This idea has been transposed onto the plane of magic
754 and they take for granted that the wisimã can, by putting evil
spells on a gun, attack the owner of the weapon in his virility.
It is supposed to be enough for someone to put his finger into
the barrel of the gun while uttering a formula of vengeance, or
even being moved by hate for the owner of the weapon, for this
gun to be no longer capable of hitting the mark. So, to avoid
these misfortunes, the Boni never part with their guns and never
411 lend them to anyone. If, in spite of these precautions, they
789 have the impression that a gun no longer fires so well, they will
go to an ɔbiaman to have it washed of maleficent influence.
There exist for that purpose several remedies all of which consist of soaking the gun for one to three days in infusions of leaves,
which has the unfailing result of making it rust. We have seen
a hammerless, latest model gun spoiled thus by an intelligent
Boni head boatman, a clever mechanic and usually full of good
sense.

224 We have never witnessed among the Boni any individual
or collective hunting rites claiming to attract game or to promote meeting it (when, on the contrary, hunting piayes are
extremely widespread among the Creoles).

/254 cont./

841 Woman's magic power. The Refugee Blacks assume that a woman, during her menstrual periods, is impure and has the power to destroy the power of ɔbia. So during these periods she must withdraw into a special hut, munu ɔsu, and prepare her meals in special dishes; she may not prepare her husband's food, for by doing this she would destroy the power of his ɔbia, and must abstain from touching objects he habitually uses, particularly his gun, which would lose its good points for shooting. Even in the little farming habitations which consist of only several huts, one may be sure that one of them serves as a munu ɔsu.

841 343 462 [465] The munu ɔsu are very simple sheds built by the women themselves, using reclaimed materials taken from huts being demolished; some belong to one woman only; for others, three or four women get together. They have recourse to men only for assembling the framework, remunerating them with several cans of couac or several baskets of yams.

841 /255/A man who has a powerful ɔbia like the man nɛŋge ɔbia must abstain from speaking to a woman who has her menses.

[751] The Boni assume there are women wicked enough to willfully hide their menses in order to destroy the power of a man's ɔbia, but he who has a good man nɛŋge ɔbia cannot be a dupe: the iron circle warns him of the danger by squeezing his arm.

184 841 68 According to Mr. W. F. van Lier, the act of willfully hiding her menses is for the Djuka one of the gravest offenses a woman can commit, and the most severe punishments are inflicted on her. It is not the same with the Boni: in such a case a woman risks only being insulted and banned.

752 834 171 Another deeply rooted belief among the Refugee Blacks, and which exists with many Creoles, is the necessity for the

752 /255 cont./
834 ɔbiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe
[171] chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 [262] Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753] --Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

? --Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina dɛ, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina dɛ on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday, [648] for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina dɛ of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[428] [114] [613] It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W. F. Van Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

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784 262 A... of the Dju lo, about 28 years old in 1958, must observe six kina:

--The cayman and the jaguar as bwasi kina.

--The otter (yundu) as akka kina. /256/

These three kina have been imposed on him since his first years, but the meaning of them was explained to him only later on.

[751] --The eel (mãnsi) was imposed on him as a kina by his father when the latter gave him a man nɛ̃ŋge ɔbia, Ɔbia of protection against machete or gun, materialized by an iron bracelet.

[841] [834] To this ɔbia is attached another kina. A... must not speak to a woman having her menstrual period.

[751] [787] --Finally, the crab (kaabu), kina attached to an Ɔbia of which the man concerned only spoke with reticence, probably a Kumɛ̃nti bui (bracelet of Kumɛ̃nti, instrument of divination).

A... has no gadu kina in the strict sense of the term.

There exists no food kina common to all the Boni; the cayman is generally forbidden to them as bwasi kina, associated with another animal; but this is not absolute; we know at least one Boni who has not received this kina.

If someone has broken a kina inadvertently, he can have himself cleansed of this offense by Ɔbiaman. But if he broke it willfully, he cannot escape the punishment attached to the offense.

845 828 Beliefs about twins. They have the idea that twins and children who follow twins are of a nature different from other men, participating in a divine principle.

[755] Twins cannot live (since they do not belong to ordinary humanity) if they are not treated with a special remedy known only to certain lineages especially rich in twins.

/256 cont./

845 When twins die young people almost always blame a
761 disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins
578 did not want to live in a disunited family. The head of the
613 lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one
another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes (1).

[753] 1. In general they have the idea that dissensions occurring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage.
[182] This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kunu, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

845 One who harms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely,
778 it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he
must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer
to God than other men.

They assume for example that Efa, of Papalston village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

[613] In lineages having many twins there exists a place of
[779] worship sacred to a vital principle called Twilënge. The
nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as
the soul of twins. Is it a matter of the first twins Adam and
Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased
twins?

845 782 751 /257/

This worship is celebrated each time there is occasion to protect newborn babies. They are washed with a certain decoction of leaves.

845 535 751 Every four or five years on the average a big dance takes place, then the father and mother of twins and the twins themselves are washed in order to maintain their powers and keep them in good health.

[784] [753] If these dances are not held, dead twins will show their anger by making living twins and parents of twins sick.

845 613 778 Lineages that do not have twins do not practice these rites. If twins are born to them, they will apply at the place of worship of another lineage.

Papaïston and Lapé have this cult particularly highly developed.

842 776 *Tɔne pikin*. It is assumed that a woman may be made pregnant by a river god, either a *Papa gadu* snake god or by the *Wata ɔgi*, which look like Indians. Children thus conceived are called *tɔne pikin*.

A..., of Papaïston, had cut a clearing opposite a remarkable white rock called *Weti stɔ̃*, where she used to moor her boat. She had not had any children for several years and she became pregnant. When her daughter was born a possessed person revealed that she was born of a *Papa gadu* snake god which lived there: since then her parents /relatives/ go regularly to this rock to make offerings. [787] [778] [782]

About 1910 Alama (Kormotibo) had followed her husband to a shipyard on the lower river; one day while walking in the forest she met an Indian having the appearance of a Galibi Indian, who was carrying a newborn baby. She stopped and admired the baby. The Indian said to her: "Do you wish to raise him?" She acquiesced. He said: "We shall see each other again"; then he went away so quickly that she had the impression that he had disappeared on the spot.

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/257 cont./

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996 A few weeks afterward she found herself pregnant, and it seemed obvious to all that this was the doing of a Wata Ingi.

845 No magic power is attributed to the tɔne pikin, any more than special mental or physical characteristics. But it is assumed that they are the object of a special protection, and that they cannot be harmed with impunity.

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435 The sacred character of payment. Relations between the gods and men always have the character of a bargain, among the Refugee Blacks: an irritated divinity is never appeased by repentance or good will; it requires that it be paid; likewise, an ɔbia is of value only for the person who has paid for it. Refugee Blacks will never utilize ready-made magic recipes: uttering certain words, making certain gestures; face to face with such a recipe they will ask immediately: "From what [812] god does this ɔbia come, and whom must one pay?" It seems that in their conception every transference of a spiritual power or a magic force disturbs something in the proper functioning of the universe; payment restores this equilibrium, it is the [771] mark of legitimacy. Some Creoles of African ancestry transpose the same idea with respect to Christianity, and this is /258/ why they insist so much on paying for masses and buying "orisons" (1). One observes likewise that free medical care
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lowers the prestige of the doctor in the eyes of all.

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1. Written prayer to which is attached protective power. This notion, borrowed from the rustic magic of 17th-century France, seems to have been introduced into Guiana by the first European colonists.

/258 cont./

461 On the material plane the same conception explains
829 the high importance attached to fair payment for work done,
431 the holy fury which takes possession of Refugee Blacks who
consider themselves wronged; it also explains why they can
interpret a free gift only as a mark of weakness except in ex-
ceptional cases (present given by a high official on the occasion
431 of a visit). A gift which does not have the character of an ex-
829 change has no spiritual value for them; it brings only scorn
and near hostility, for they feel that the object has not been
legitimately acquired and that they are not in tune with their
moral law.

Local Divinities

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823 The Refugee Blacks assume the existence of local divinities exercising a de facto power on such-and-such a portion of the country. Since their very special mode of life leads them to circulate almost exclusively along rivers, with them this idea has been transposed into a double notion: the divinities of the rivers and the gods of the soil. In their minds those are two entirely separate conceptions: the power of the god of the soil stops at the edge of the water and conversely.

De facto worship is rendered the divinities of the river according to the rites set by the first users of the river. In practice, worship is rendered only to the divinities of dangerous rivers where accidents are frequent. People do not bother with the others.

These gods are designated indiscriminately by the words gadu and sani (thing, being), indicating that their nature is not known.

/258 cont./

776 One of the best known of these gods is that of the Maruini.
823 It is assumed to control all the tributaries of the Maruini as far
778 as their sources. Its place of worship is a thicket situated
downstream from the dangerous Kubi Sula Falls, at the mouth
782 of the river. Before starting to go upriver in August, 1956,
[539] the crews of our three boats, in an atmosphere of great
meditation, lined up behind the eldest of them, who made
the offering of water and tafia, uttering these words: "God
who commands this river, watch over us, keep us from being
sick, let no accident happen to us; if there is on this river
an interdiction which we do not know (2) and which, through
ignorance, we do not observe, pardon us. Bring us back to
our villages safe and sound." The boatmen came one after
the other to make the offering of tafia. The scene lasted more
than a quarter of an hour. This ceremony was not without
nobility, engendering belief in that sincere fervor of animists
so often mentioned in the /259/ ethnographic literature.
771 But our return at the end of our work trip took place in a
completely different atmosphere, showing the strictly practical
and utilitarian side of the religion of the Refugee Blacks.
Once past the Kubi Sula, the three boss boatmen could not
persuade any of their men, who were in the act of eating
their meal, to accompany them as far as the place of worship
to thank the god. Some told us straight out that they were
scoffing at this god from now on, having no intention of
[782] coming back on the Maruini. As for the boss boatmen themselves, they measured stingily the quantity of tafia offered

2. It is obvious here that this is a case of *de facto* worship of a divinity about which nothing is known.

/259 cont./

771 to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a
[782] minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maruini, in 1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

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Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role
241 in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the
776 soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

[796] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is
[793] the worship of mama gɔ̃, of which the grand man is priest.
[643] Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

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1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

241 776 [532] [831] [778] [643] [782]

/259 cont./

Cult of Mama gɔ̃. *Mama gɔ̃*, mother of the earth, is represented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall, an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 776 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about the relationships of this worship with that of the *gɔ̃ gadu*, local gods of the soil.

796 535 787 Every three years a great possession dance takes place in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the *Papa gadu* gods dance in front of the sanctuary of *Mama gɔ̃*. We have not been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of this rite.

241 776 [784] *Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu*. It is assumed that every portion of land is under the sway of a local god, *gɔ̃ gadu*. Its power is limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods, but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, *gɔ̃ gadu* has a *de facto* existence, and is rendered *de facto* worship. This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, *kina dɛ*, corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/260 cont./

241 776 In order to observe these rites suitably, it is important
then to know in which god's domain are situated the lands
one is cultivating. On the banks of the great river, the division
of the lands among the gods of the soil has been well
241 776 527 known since the time of the ancestors. By summarizing the
kina dɛ of the farming habitations, one realizes that the domain
of each god is extensive; it occupies several kilometers
along the banks. It is often thought (but not everywhere) that
the two banks are controlled by different gods. For example:

Downstream from Boniville, right bank: Wednesday;
Toward Kormotibo, right bank: Thursday;
Toward the mouth of the Inini, both banks: Wednesday;
Toward Simayé Falls, both banks: Saturday.

On those days one may do nothing related to agriculture, and in particular one may not dig in the earth nor plant. If absolutely necessary one may go to pull up tubercules.

What one must avoid above all is handling tools which make noise and could disturb the god, except in the immediate vicinity of the water which is not under its control. However, one may shoot off a gun.

This *kina dɛ* is observed more strictly than Friday, the general *kina dɛ* in Boni country, which appears to be related to the cult of *Mama gɔɔ̃*. On those days people mend boats and especially go hunting and fishing.

241 778 Offerings are made in a purely individual and local fashion; in each farming habitation is seen at the approaches to the wharf a worship place formed by a simple meat-drying rack decorated with pennants of several colors, on which the offerings are exposed; even if this habitation combines people of diverse kin groups, there is only one place of worship.

/260 cont./

241 778 People who have no farming habitation and who farm on the outskirts of /Fig. 29 appears here/ /261/ residence villages get together in groups of three or four to establish a worship place in a copse, preserved from the forest adjoining their clearings.

241 782 Cane juice, syrup, rice pounded fine but not cooked are offered.

They make this offering at the time of the plantings, saying, "Gadu, please come and eat a little, watch over us, thank you very much."

The Boni who observe the rites most faithfully renew this offering each month at the new moon.

If someone has two clearings in two different sectors, he performs the rites twice, each gɔɔ̃ gadu being entirely independent of the others.

241 171 On this subject one notices that the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks are much more systematized than those of the Creole populations of African origin in the West Indies. They do not think each field has an individual soul; neither do they apparently believe in the possibility of capturing the soul of the field in order to make the neighbor's field sterile out of revenge. These beliefs, which play such a large role in the popular magic of the West Indies, seem to be without exact counterpart in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks.

241 [776] Interdictions and various rites. Cutting a clearing involves great dangers: it is necessary to avoid injuring the maleficent divinities of the bush, which have as supports well-defined plants and animals, by brutal destruction of these supports, and their wreaking inexorable revenge -- the kunu -- on the lineage of the unintentional sacrilege. It is therefore necessary to seek out these plants and animals and to carry out for each the rites recommended by the ancestors' experience without forgetting a single one. No Refugee Black would dream of

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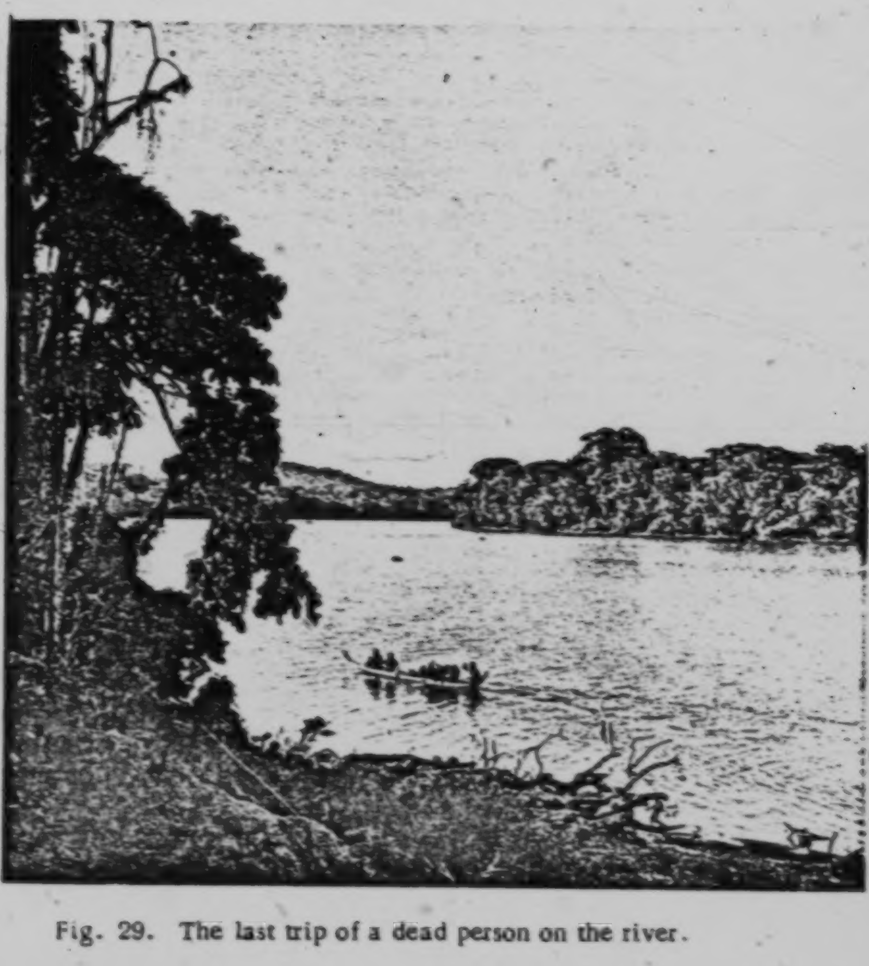

Fig. 29. The last trip of a dead person on the river.

/261 cont./
241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 --The *kākāti* (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree,
778 for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 cate-
784 gories of divinities, especially a *Papa gadu* and an *Ampuku*.
[776] So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be
very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site
of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch care-
fully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees
often found in the villages.

824 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up
778 a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance
776 with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw
361 their protection upon themselves.

824 --The *katu* tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very
778 large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which
789 appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent
[776] divinities (*Ampuku*, *Papa gadu*, *Bumba gadu*). One may cut
it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer
these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses
this remedy a pot of *ɔbia* containing an infusion of leaves in
the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs
[435] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example),
one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his
body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet
on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided
[822] with squares of white cloth (for the *Papa gadu*), dark blue and
red (for the *Ampuku*), and a pinot palm (*pina tɔ̃ngo*) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

/262 cont./

824 778 789 the tree: "Ala sani di dɛ na a udu ya, da mu kumɔto, beka mi ɔ faa ɛŋ. Kɔm na a pina tɔ̃ŋgo: All things (suprahuman entities) who are in this tree, leave it, for I am going to throw it to the ground; come into this palm leaf." One takes away the palm leaf and the little flags far from there into the interior of the lands, to a spot where nobody is likely to come to fell trees, and one arranges them beside some big tree. The divinities will come and settle there. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to wait almost a month to cut the katu tree, probably to leave the maleficent influences time to dissipate.

824 778 [781] [171] The Boni are so afraid of this tree that many of them, deeming these precautions insufficient, give up the idea of cutting it down and go to establish their clearings elsewhere. The Creole gold miners of the Haut Maroni, who call it cottonwood, also attribute a maleficent influence to it and some of them do not cut it.

The Refugee Blacks fear also, but to a lesser degree, what they call kɔtkɔti, that is, the small trees of any species which, instead of having grown straight, have two angles in their trunk like a Z. This is a very rare anomaly. [776] [784] In such a shrub is hidden a maleficent entity, taku sani, capable, if a man cut the trunk unintentionally, to take revenge on him by paralyzing a limb or even the whole body in a bent position. In order to see whether or not the entity is present in the shrub, there exists, according to the Boni, a very simple means: one gently brings the finger near the bent part. If he feels his finger held there to the point where he has trouble drawing it back, the genie is present! The power of autosuggestion characteristic of the Refugee Blacks shows itself clearly here.

[789] Rites exist for rendering the kɔtkɔti harmless, for cutting them with impunity, and even for using them in magic preparations, but we do not know the details. Kɔtkɔti are among the objects usually found in the chapels (ɔbia ɔsu) of Kumɛnti; we have even happened to see one used to fasten a

/262 cont./

824 door; it was a particularly feared kɛ̃ndu that no thief would
778 have dared to remove.

825 --The Kɛ̃ntamasu are the divinities, especially maleficent
778 and hostile to men, who live in the termitaries (these are
[776] termites proper, who make their nest in the earth, and not wood lice, much more common). There is one to each termitary.

[989] After a meticulous examination of the soil of the clearing, one marks all the termitaries /263/ and sprinkles each of them with a preparation containing leaves, pink clay kukusa, and manioc juice. One adjures the genie to go away, no matter where.

It happens that in spite of all the precautions taken a termitary is forgotten. Then, several days later, one will
[787] have the consternation of seeing the Kɛ̃ntamasu reveal itself
[784] in someone of the lineage; it announces that it is going to exercise its kunu (curse). It is temporarily appeased by offer-
[782] ings of tafia, various drinks, red cloth.

776 The Kɛ̃ntamasu call themselves the Akɔlo. Through
198 the mouth of their bearers they speak a language nobody under-
787 stands. However, when they wish to be understood by those present they speak Kumɛnti.

755 Observation in Boniville, January, 1957:
784 A..., boatman of the border-fixing mission, asks for three days off. His wife, Masauman, has been ill for several days; divination (in this particular case the gita of a female relative in his lineage) showed that it was the doing of a Kɛ̃ntamasu injured in the burning of the clearing which he himself, A..., cut for his wife in October. The Kɛ̃ntamasu has not yet manifested itself directly, but a kunu threatens; to appease it he must put in action the remedy known only
000 to M..., an old man of Asisi. He will go to the spot, following

765 782 /263 cont./ He will go to the spot, following at a good distance M..., bearer of the remedy, with which he will sprinkle the surface of the clearing, and of offering objects. When the offering has been made, they will wait some time to see whether Masauman is better and if she is, they will deem the god appeased.

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The Yali Festival

[805] The Refugee Blacks, who do not count the days that elapse, contenting themselves with lunations in order to follow the course of the year, make inquiries from Europeans and Creoles to set the time for the Yali festival which marks the new year. Everyone accumulates provisions, especially tortoise meat, varied drinks, and many firecrackers.

On the evening of December 31 each one dances in his own village.

The festival lasts all night, tafia gushes forth, firecrackers go off everywhere.

[787] At the end of the night several gods "rise" in the heads of their bearers, at least of those who are not completely drunk.

[535] During the day dances resume intermittently in the order awasa, sɔŋgɛ, susa. It is customary for the people of one lineage to go to dance in the village of another, then they [574] invite them back. People make many individual visits. Some have set up in front of their hut a sort of small buffet on which they have arranged about ten glasses, five to six liters of tafia, four or five bottles of beer, lemonade, and syrup.

Observation in Boniville, January 1, 1958:

The grand man, who scarcely leaves his habitation downstream from Boniville any more, did not /264/ put himself out. He delegated his functions to Lébiman and Fintiman, men about 50 years old, belonging to the fraction of the Kotika and Dju lineages residing in Boniville.

/264 cont./

796 At seven o'clock, about ten men assemble at the fraga
769 tiki. They pour water first, then tafia, while uttering the
539 prayer whose whole text follows, taken from a tape recording:
[126] Fintiman (pouring the water):

"Ancestors, hail! We have come to you; it is for the new year that we have come to you! as you yourselves used to do when you were (alive). May God protect us until the new year comes back again; thus it is that you yourselves used to pour the water on behalf of the ancestors. We have come to our place of prayer to speak with you, to ask you to carry our words to God."

(The same formulas are repeated several times.)

Lébiman:

"This is the New Year's Day water. It is God's day. He has arrived. Grand man Awensay (1), (because) I have not known the more distant ancestors, it is you alone that I call; call all the others."

"It has arrived, God's day. As for the grand man himself, a slight hindrance has come to him, he could not come, but it is not that he is no longer interested in the village."

"Watch over all the people who are there... we have come to pour water on your behalf, so that you will watch over the chickens and dogs of the village (and up to the living men) (2). Protect the grand man; if misfortune was about to

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1. Predecessor of Grand Man Difu, who died in 1936. In each village the last dead head is invoked by name in order to ask him to call the more ancient dead.

2. Usual prayer formula.

/264 cont./

796 769 539 happen to him, may it pass to one side. Thus we have come to pour (the water) to beg you to protect the village. The year has changed today, it is a new year. May we have money and food, we beg of you, ancestors; watch over our plantings, may they prosper, may the young women who fish at the wharf catch fish."

"All the captains pour (the water), the fiskal, the majors pour (3) for all the lineages; protect the villages."

[184] [622] 3. Honorific titles imitated from the Djuka but which, among the Boni, do not really mean anything; the head of Kormotibo village bears the title fiskal and the one of Kotika village the title major.

Fintiman:

"The people who have pure hearts, protect them, big and small. But the people whose hearts are not good, who do evil spells to kill others and decrease the village, we do not pray for them; turn them out."

"Watch over the grand man; if something happens to him, it must not be said that we, the people who are seated there, have not prayed well. Great ancestors, we supplicate you, if we were on the point of meeting misfortune, that we may find the good."

(They begin to pour the tafia.)

/265/ "Grand Man Awensay , . . ." (Thanks follow for a trip which was carried out without hindrance.)

Lébiman:

"May the grand man live long with us, may misfortune not happen to him."

/265 cont./

796 769 539 "Great ancestors who are in God's country, it is you who have the strength of the village."

(The tafia gushes forth.)

"Drink, drink, but do not get drunk to the point of being deluded, look with favor upon the righteous, scatter the wicked."

796 782 Next, Fintiman goes off to make an offering of tafia accompanied by a few words at the chapel of Odun. Then he goes to the edge of the mortuary shed to pour water, tafia, and coffee on behalf of Samalobi, the grand man's brother, for whom mourning has not been lifted.

He goes next to the house of the deceased grand man Awensay to make an offering of coffee (Awensay, like the other grand men, used to drink coffee).

796 782 829 The prayer of the preceding year (January 1, 1957), presided over by grandfather Samalobi, had had a higher inspiration. After praying in about the same terms as above for the Boni, they prayed for the Djuka, explaining that in days gone by Boni and Djuka had fought, but that all that was forgotten. They prayed next for the Saramaka, then for the Indians, finally for the Europeans. I asked why; they answered: "It is because the Europeans were the ones who brought us to this country which has become ours." /p. 266 is blank/

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CHAPTER VIII

538 765

TALES -- PROVERBS

Tales (Anãsi tɔli) and Proverbs (ɔdo) retain an important social function among the Refugee Blacks. It is always by tales that the great customary ceremonies of the lifting of mourning begin. Their function is to concentrate the attention of the

538 /267 cont./
765] audience and to create an atmosphere of participation in the
rite.

This ritual character makes it so that the Anansi Toli cannot be recited any time and in any old way. The story-teller may speak only at night, in the presence of a respondent and of an audience of at least two or three persons. A ritual formula: "dirinti" -- the response of the audience: "ndaeti,"
[124] precedes each new story. It is only with extreme repugnance
[126] that informants consent to listen to and comment in the day-
[761] time on a tale recorded on tape, particularly if their parents
are still living, for it is said among the Refugee Blacks as in Black Africa that telling stories in full daylight makes one's father and mother die.

[194] These tales belong to an authentically African
accumulated store, practically unchanged in spite of the
[177] borrowing from the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo of several
themes concerning automobiles, steamboats, etc., inserted in droll fashion into the traditional themes.

The usual hero of these tales is Anansi, the crafty one.
[825] Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider (1). It is noteworthy,
however, that this spider does not appear to play any special role in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks and that no divinatory power is attributed to it. In fact, in the tales of which he is the hero, Anansi is nearly always represented as a man.

[191] 1. The spider cycle is characteristic of the Akan (Agni-Baoulé-Abron) culture area. Anansi is the name of the Mygale spider among the Agni.

538 /2 7 cont./

Habitually figure in these tales:

Wénon	Anansi's wife
Akpwatitikwati	his sons
Asingébelé	
Paníkitapu	
Bigimofu	

Saniasîmooyu, his daughter.

825 /268/ Also included under the title of Anansi Toli are tales in which only animals appear: leu, the elephant (whose description the Refugee Blacks have kept through oral tradition), kɔ̃ghoni, the agouti (1), who knows everything that happens

1. Rodent the size of a rabbit.

in the bush, kariaku, the deer, a sly old blade who thwarts all tricks (2).

2. It is strange to see this animal play the role of the fox of our fables; the deer easily escapes the hunter thanks to his acute vision, but he does not really have intelligence.

The tales transcribed below are 14 in number; they have been chosen from about 30 and represent the most characteristic themes as well as the best-contructed narratives.

About half of the tales of the Refugee Blacks turn upon two fundamental themes:

--Hunting ruses, whereby Anansi succeeds in killing all the animals of the bush except one who, cleverer than he, succeeds in turning the trick and killing him in turn;

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538 --Deception, more particularly associated with gluttony; in many tales, complicated ruses have for their purpose eating the neighbor's share.

Half the tales are improvisations on extremely varied themes and are impossible to classify. A large proportion are fantastic stories, disconnected and incoherent, recalling the progress of dreams. We have given no room here to this type of tale which in fact presents little of sociological interest.

[831] The Anansi Toli never have a licentious character.

In a general way, the tales of the Refugee Blacks do not reflect any definite concept. The same character is represented from one tale to another in contradictory aspects; he has no fixed personality. For example, the character Anansi, generally represented as lying, thieving, jealous, greedy, and cruel, is not associated with any definite concept. Some tales show him bringing Death among men, but others show him humiliating, to the great joy of men, the maleficent goddesses of the water and the bush. Most of the tales represent him as a swindler, but in some he figures as a judge. These contradictions are not perceived by the Refugee Blacks.

The storyteller himself succeeds with difficulty in following the thread of his story, losing himself in details, often recounted with wit. Sometimes the theme turns aside completely in the course of the narrative, like the ornamental motifs of the Refugee Blacks in which human limbs end in volutes, giving a harmonious whole but without great meaning. In this respect there is a great difference from one storyteller to the other. Certain ones construct more highly organized narratives; most are satisfied with the incoherent and fantastic tales.

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538 Doubtless for the same reason, nothing is found in most of these tales which brings to mind a moral inspired by a concept of good and evil. Now it is the thief and the swindler who triumph, now they find one cleverer than they. It is easy to see that for the storyteller all that is on the same plane; he simply guided his story on what seemed to him most amusing. [522] As for the audience, it always laughs at the loser. One single tale out of 14 (No. 1) expresses a practical moral: "That is why you must not deceive people, for there are people who are cleverer than you."

Most of the tales and proverbs have already been heard many a time by the Refugee Blacks without that lessening their pleasure. More than the story itself, they appreciate the verve of the storyteller, his mimicking talent, the always new variations he knows how to give of a hackneyed theme.

538 [126] All these tales were recorded with the tape recorder and then were studied carefully with respect to vocabulary and syntax. We have stayed very close to the actual wording and as far as possible have kept the special Aluku turns of phrase, especially African interjections which reinforce the verbs. The tedious passages which had to be summarized are put in parentheses. Tales nos. ten to 14 are summarized.

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Tales

1) The Bearded Rock

One day Anansi went into the bush. He walked until ... he saw a rock, a rock with a beard. He cried: "Bearded rock!"

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Then he fell, he fainted (1). He stayed there until (finally)

1. It must be understood that the genie which was in the rock had heard him.

he came to, and (could) go back home. Then he said (to himself): "I have found a place to kill game."

He saw the agouti who was passing by, he asked him: "Where are you going thus?" The agouti answered: "I am going hunting." Then Anansi told him: "I know a good place, come tomorrow so that I may take you there." He came and both walked until they had arrived at this rock. Then Anansi told him very softly: "Look at this rock, shout 'Bearded rock!'" The agouti shouted: "Bearded rock!" Immediately he fell in a faint; Anansi killed him with blows of a club and carried him off home.

He killed game in this way until the deer arrived unexpectedly. Anansi told him: "I know a place where game is found. We shall walk to a spot where we shall see a rock and you will shout: "Bearded rock!" They arrived at the rock; the deer said to Anansi: "I have forgotten the name of this rock." Anansi said very low: "Bearded rock." The deer said to him: "I don't hear." Then Anansi got angry, his heart took fire (with rage) and he shouted very loudly: "Bearded rock!" Then he himself fell to the ground. The deer killed him, took his liver, and carried it back to his wife.

That is why you must not deceive people, because there are people who are cleverer than you.

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2) The Pond Genie

(One day) Anansi went into the bush; he explored in the bush, comrades. He went until... hunger seized him. He arrived at a pond where there were fish! fish! He caught the fish, he caught until...he came to a stump. He slipped his hand into a hole, and there his hand was grabbed, kyin kyin! He said: "Who is holding me like that?" "It is I the Thrower" (said the pond genie). He said: "Throw me to see." He threw him...to the top of the trees. He fell back down to the ground. Comrades, you know Anansi, he did not die of it. He said: "I shall kill all the animals (here) to the last one." He went to sharpen a trident. He said: "It is here that I must bury the trident, since it is here that I fell back down. I am going to show the animals here, I am going to show them." He buried it up to the iron. He carried a load of fish, said to his wife Wénon: "I am going to kill all the animals to the last one." She said: "How are you going to do it?" He explained to her.

Some time afterward the agouti arrived. He said to him: "Brother agouti, aren't you hungry?" The agouti said: "Brother, I am hungry; I am looking for the sauce (1). He said to him: "Come, I am going to take you to a pond where there are many fish. The agouti accepted. They walked until they got there. They caught fish, until... Anansi said: "Feel around at the foot of this stump; you will find a hole; there are some acoupas (2). Comrade agouti, go ahead and feel!

1. Meaning by that, meat or fish to accompany the couac or the rice.

2. Fish of stagnant waters.

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*539

2) The Pond Genie

(One day) Anansi went into the bush; he explored in the bush, comrades. He went until... hunger seized him. He arrived at a pond where there were fish! fish! He caught the fish, he caught until...he came to a stump. He slipped his hand into a hole, and there his hand was grabbed, kyin kyin! He said: "Who is holding me like that?" "It is I the Thrower" (said the pond genie). He said: "Throw me to see." He threw him...to the top of the trees. He fell back down to the ground. Comrades, you know Anansi, he did not die of it. He said: "I shall kill all the animals (here) to the last one." He went to sharpen a trident. He said: "It is here that I must bury the trident, since it is here that I fell back down. I am going to show the animals here, I am going to show them." He buried it up to the iron. He carried a load of fish, said to his wife Wénon: "I am going to kill all the animals to the last one." She said: "How are you going to do it?" He explained to her.

Some time afterward the agouti arrived. He said to him: "Brother agouti, aren't you hungry?" The agouti said: "Brother, I am hungry; I am looking for the sauce (1). He said to him: "Come, I am going to take you to a pond where there are many fish. The agouti accepted. They walked until they got there. They caught fish, until... Anansi said: "Feel around at the foot of this stump; you will find a hole; there are some acoupas (2). Comrade agouti, go ahead and feel!

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1. Meaning by that, meat or fish to accompany the couac or the rice.

2. Fish of stagnant waters.

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#539 The agouti slipped his paw into the hole; kyin kyin! It stayed prisoner. He said: "Brother Anansi, my paw is caught." -- Say: "What is holding me there?" He said: "What is holding me there?" -- "It is I the Thrower." The agouti said: "Brother Anansi, what must I say?" -- Say: "Throw me to see." He said: "Throw me to see." Comrades, he threw him into the air, he passed over the top of the trees, he fell down on the trident. Anansi took his club, pa! He ran up, he knocked him down, gbo! He killed him. He put him aside. He picked up all the fish the agouti had caught. He took the agouti himself, cut out his liver. He took it to the agouti's wife; he told her: "The agouti and I killed a tapir out there, he stayed to smoke it. He sent half of the liver for you to cook." She cooked the liver and boiled rice. They ate; they ate to the last spoonful, to the last piece of liver. He said: "All livers are good but the agouti's liver is the best." (Then she understood.) She took a pestle to hit him but he got away.

Thus he killed in succession all the animals of the region. There remained the deer. The deer is some clever. He had observed Anansi and seen what he had done. Anansi came to him and said to him: "Brother deer, aren't you hungry?" He answered: "I am very hungry." Anansi said: "I know a pond where there are many fish." They went there. They fished until Anansi said: "Feel in the hole at the base of this stump, there are some acoupas and plant-runners /coulants/." The deer felt and said: "I don't feel the hole"; he knew /271/ very well where it was. Anansi said: "You have big eyes, how is it that you do not see the hole?" He took his paw in his hand to plunge it into the hole; the deer's paw is thin. He pulled it back. It was Anansi's hand which remained prisoner.

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#539 Anansi said: "Brother deer, go over there; you will find a trident I use for hunting; pull it out of the ground." The deer came back saying: "It is done." He showed him another trident which he himself had brought and hidden. Then Anansi said (to the genie): "Throw me to see." He threw him to the summit of the trees. He fell back on the trident. The deer knocked him down with a club, cut out his liver, and took it to Wénon. He said to Wénon: "Anansi and I killed a tapir. He stayed to smoke it. He sent the liver for you to cook." She prepared the liver and boiled rice. They ate to the last mouthful. Then the deer said: "All livers are good but Anansi's liver is the best." Wénon grabbed a pestle to strike him, but he was already far away.

3) Anansi and the Magic Frying-Pan

(One day) Anansi went exploring in the bush, comrades. He went into the bush one day, until... he was hungry. And now he saw a frying-pan hooked in the air. He went near; he said: "Frying-pan, why art thou beautiful thus?" It said: "I am beautiful, but I am not beautiful for nothing." He said: "Let me see." It began to fry all sorts of things, fritters, meat. He said: "Put that down on the ground in front of me." It put them before him. Then Anansi ate, he ate until... his belly was full. He said: "Frying-pan, I beg of thee, stop." It stopped, gban! He said: "What kina dost thou have, in truth(1)?" It said: "It is the lemon, lemon juice, and the

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1. Let us remember that in the minds of the Refugee Blacks, to the exercise of any magic power corresponds a kina (interdiction).

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rice-straw broom (2). If you rub me with it, I lose my power."

2. The Refugee Blacks have the practice of using lemon juice for scouring dishes.

He said: "That's good; please agree to come into my ɔbia house, so that I may frustrate my wife Wénon and my children. They tire me." It said: "Very well, I shall go with you." He walked, he put it on his head. His belly was full, comrades, his intestines were full. He walked until he arrived at the outskirts of the village. He shouted: "All the people of the village, shut yourselves up, I am carrying my ɔbia to my ɔbia house." They said: "What art thou saying?" He repeated: "I am carrying my ɔbia pot to my ɔbia house." Gban! Gban! The people slammed the doors of their houses, gban!

Anansi walked to his ɔbia house, opened the door, he hung up the frying-pan in a corner.

That day he did not eat in Wénon's house. Wénon cooked spinach for him. He said: "My belly is full." He waited until midnight, then he went out. He said to the frying-pan: "Frying-pan, why are you beautiful thus?" It said: "I am beautiful, but I am not beautiful for nothing." He said: "Show me so that I may see."

It began to fry for him as much food as he could eat. /272/
/272/One of his children named Akpwatitikwati said (to his brother) Asingébélé: "We are cleverer than Anansi. I am going to keep an eye on my father until I surprise him." Then he began to watch him and surprised him. He saw and cried: "So that's how he did it."

Anansi said he was going hunting; then he went away to hunt. (Immediately) the children came; they said: "Frying-pan... " ... (same formulas).

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#539 It began to fry for them. It fried until... they went to get their other brothers and their mother Wénon. They arrived, carrying calabashes and all sorts of receptacles; comrades, they put in them meat, fritters, all kinds of food. They loaded themselves up with all these things to the very limit.

They said: "Stop." It stopped, gban! Comrades, they climbed up to the attic (1); they lifted up the bunches of rice,

[342] 1. Meaning by that the roof of huts, separated by a ceiling of planks.

they slipped all that underneath, zou! They hid these things so that Anansi might not see them, until they were finished. There! They went, took some lemon, took a brush. They cried: "We are going to teach Anansi a lesson today, we are tired of hearing him say that he does not want to eat spinach, we are going to make him see!" And so they did. They poured the lemon juice, tollo! They rubbed the (frying-pan) with rice straw (2). It is done! They hung it up again.

2. It is necessary to understand that it was through malevolence and not inadvertence that Anansi's wife and children destroyed the power of the frying-pan.

They went away until dinner time. Anansi came. Wénon had cooked spinach with rice: "Brother Anansi, since thou art already here, come, take something to eat; we have not found much that was good." He said: "Sister, I am still not eating. My belly is not open. While I was walking in the

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#539 bush a wind entered my belly, it is cold." She said: "Very well." He went to eat the frying-pan's food; he walked until he arrived there. He said: "Frying-pan, why art thou so beautiful?" Nothing! "Frying-pan, why art thou so beautiful?" Nothing, nothing!

He said: "What has happened to my frying-pan, that it doesn't work any more? I know, it is Akpwatitikwati who has spoiled it. I am going to teach him a lesson, wait!" He went away; he said: "That one is spoiled; I am going to go and get another."

He came home. He made no remarks at all; he remained silent. He took the spinach which he had refused; with the spinach he ate rice.

The next day he went into the bush, voloou! exploring, comrades; Anansi walked in the bush, looked... until he saw three whips hung up. He said: "Whips, why are you so handsome?" They said: "Ho! We are handsome, but we are not handsome for nothing."

Comrades, they whipped him in the bush, viop, viop! they whipped Anansi. He shouted: "You are right, you are right. I am the one who came to bother you, you are right! Can you come with me?" The whips stopped striking. He said: "Please, I ask you, I have bad children in my village; I beg of you, come into my ɔbia hou[illegible]." They said: "Out of sheer caprice, we shall go." He took them. He arrived at the edge of the village; he shouted: "I am carrying my ɔbia pot home! my ɔbia pot /273/ again! Comrades, again gban! gban! (His sons) said: "Well, well, our father is bringing the same thing again. We shall make him see!" Anansi opened the door of the ɔbia house gently, put down the whips carefully. He slept until the next day. He said: "I am going hunting." But he stayed at the edge of the forest; he kept an eye on the approaches to the ɔbia house. When he had seen Anansi leave, Akpwatitikwati said: "I am going to get my brothers and my

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539 mother." Comrades, they suffered from pian (1)! All together

[164] 1. Skin disease from which most Refugee Black children used to suffer.

they entered the ɔbia house. Again: "Whips, why are you so handsome?"

(same formula)

Viop! viop! Anansi ran, he shut the door; he said: "Let me see, whips, strike so that I may see!" viop! viop!

(Somebody in the audience) "Wénon was inside?" -- "Wénon was inside!" (laughs). The whips hit them until their skin was bloody, their pian pimples cut, so that the blood flowed over them.

(cruel laughs from the audience)

Then Anansi opened the door and they fled.

The end.

4) Anansi and the Bat

Anansi was looking for someone to go with him to a festival which was taking place in a neighboring village... because the more who come, the more they give you to eat. He asked the bat, who said to him: "I haven't been to a festival for a long time. I'll go on the day you wish." The day they had set arrived. They started out; they walked until they had arrived near the village. Anansi said: "Comrade bat, see this lebi weko (2). If I begin to shout: "My belly,

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[278] 2. Lebi weko: bougouni (Inga alba) tree whose bark is used in the native pharmacopoeia.

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*539 my belly," come and cut its bark, have me drink an infusion of it to calm my pains. My belly likes to play these tricks on me." They walked a little more. The bat said: "I am going to step aside for a moment." It stepped aside, then ran noiselessly to the tree, cut a piece of bark, put it in its bag, and came back.

They arrived at the village. The people had set the table; a big table! As they were getting ready to eat, Anansi moaned: "My belly, my belly. Please, that bark I spoke to thee about, go and get me some (3)."

[538] 3. This complicated ruse is to get his comrade away in order to eat its portion. This is the central theme of a whole cycle of tales of the Refugee Blacks.

The bat pulled it out of its bag: "Here it is." Anansi said to himself: "There are some people who must not be involved in one's affairs." They ate until they had finished; they danced until dawn. As they were taking their leave, the people made them a gift of a bag /274/ of groundnuts, comrades, a big bag; it was not a one-quintal bag, but a two-quintal bag.

Anansi said to the bat: "Thou art not able to carry this bag. I am the elder, it is up to me to carry it." He lifted it; he wavered (under the weight) but stuck to it just the same. They walked. Anansi was going first, the bat behind. The bat flew, pou, pou, pou! dropped on the road and changed itself into a golden fork. Anansi arrived. He said: "Here is a golden fork, I am going to take it." He stretched out his hand as if to take it. He said to himself: "Hou? I must not take it, it is the bat." He cut a stick and struck it, gbo! He walked, walked. The bat flew ahead, pou, pou, pou! It dropped on the

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#539 ground and changed itself into a golden chain. Anansi arrived. He said to himself: "The people who left ahead dropped a golden chain. I have already left a golden fork, this golden chain I am not going to leave." He opened the bag of groundnuts, he threw the chain inside. Comrades, the bat ate the groundnuts. It would eat, it would void. Anansi was almost arriving in his village. The bat took the last nut, ate it, and voided. Anansi walked to the village without bothering any more with the bat. He said: "Sister Wénon, I have been lucky. I and the bat were out there, how it walked I have no idea. I found a bag of groundnuts for me and thee. Children, come into the house." They went in, locked the door carefully. He untied the bag. The bat escaped, pou, pou, pou! He said: "Wife, I am dead." He opened the bag: nothing but droppings. The bat was flying, pou, pou, pou! It alighted on the head of Saniasamooyu (1).

1. Anansi's daughter.

Anansi said: "Thou hast ruined me thus. I shall fix thee." He took a stick, he brandished it as hard as he could; he threw it, gbo! to knock down the bat. The bat flew away, pou, pou, pou! The stick struck the child who fell. The bat lighted on Bigimofu's head. Anansi said: "Mother, I am dead; Bat, I am going to kill thee." He threw the stick at it, pou, pou, pou! The bat flew away, the child fell. The bat lighted on Wénon's head. Anansi said: "Mother, I am dead, it is thy fault that I have killed my children, and now thou lightest on my wife's head!" Gbob! Pou, pou, pou! Wénon fell dead. The bat lighted on Anansi's head. Anansi said: "I am going to fix thee." He went under the baliki (2) (and hit his head). Gbo! balau!

2. Horizontal beam of the house-framing.

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*539 (He fell), he stayed there, bashed in like an old kerosene can. He didn't die of it. He came to and went away. So goes the tale.

5) Anansi, the King and the Rabbit(3).

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3. The rabbit, who plays the part of the sly character in the folklore of the West Indies, does not exist in Guiana. This tale is probably the transposition of a West Indian theme.

There was a king; he reigned over a country. All the people of the king's village had the habit of going to wash in a certain pond. One day, the king went to this pond to bathe. Comrade, he saw a cack in the water! "Who relieved himself there?" "I don't know." /275/ The king called the people together. This one said: "It isn't I." That one: "It isn't I." Nobody had made that cack, but there it was.

Anansi said to the king: "Grand-man, I shall discover the guilty one." The king said: "Very well; do what thou canst do."

Anansi went away. He went and cut a tree; he made a beautiful big statue, he made it eyes, a nose, a mouth, breasts. He smeared it with birdlime, then put it in the middle of the path which went to the pond. The moon had not risen.

Comrades, the rabbit relieved himself in the pond, then he came back to the bank, for it was he who had made that cack in the water. He took to the road, a pail of water on his head. He saw a woman standing in the middle of the path. He shouted: "Ho! woman! get off the path, I don't want thee (here)." She remained immobile. He said: "Woman! I am

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#539 going to hit thee." She stayed immobile without answering. He puts the pail down on the ground, he hits her gbo! Kyin kyin! (1), his hand stays stuck fast. He says: '"Art thou going to let me go, I don't want thee (here)." He struck her with the other hand, gbo! Kyin kyin! The other hand stayed stuck. He said: "I am going to give thee a poke with my knee!" He gave her a poke with his knee, kyin kyin! The knee stayed stuck fast. He hit her with the other knee, it stayed stuck too. Thus the rabbit remained immobilized, feet in the air, until the next morning. Anansi came, he said: "Rabbit, we meet again! Ever since somebody made cack in the pond, it was thou. We meet again!"

Anansi went to the king; he said: "Grand man, I have found the one who was dirtying the water, it is the rabbit! It is he who was making cack in the water. What shall I do with him? The king said: "Anansi, do as thou wish, for that water, all the people of this country use it."

Anansi said: "Very well." He lighted a fire, he made the pitch melt which was holding the rabbit, he put the rabbit in a bag, zou! He tied the bag, kwa! Next he went and got a long iron rod; he said to the rabbit: "Dost thou see this rod? Well, I am going to heat it red hot and plunge it into thine anus up to the very end. Thou wilt not dirty the king's water any more."

[193] 1. Interjection reinforcing the meaning of a verb expressing that something has become fastened or immobilized.

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*539 He arrived at his degrad (2). He disembarked (leaving the rabbit at the edge of the water). The way was long from the wharf to his house. Comrades, he made a big fire, heated the rod red hot.

The rabbit, alone, spoke aloud, saying: "What misfortune! Here I am in a pretty mess! I haven't any luck!" The jaguar came by; he said: "Old man rabbit, what's the matter with you?" -- "It is the king who has had me taken for he wants to force me to marry his daughter; he had me arrested and tied in a bag so that I could not run away."

The jaguar said: I am going to free thee and get into the bag in thy place, for that is just what I am looking for, in order to find a good set-up."

The rabbit said: "Come and set me free." He let him go, got into the bag. The rabbit shut up the bag again and ran away. /2[illegible]/
/276/Anansi came, he said no more but groped for the rabbit's abdomen. He plunged the iron rod into his anus to the very end. Then the tiger howled: "Hi, hi!" Then Anansi said: "Brother tiger, I have nothing against thee; it is the rabbit!"

The tiger said: "Anansi, I have nothing against thee, but I and the rabbit are enemies to the death today." Anansi freed the jaguar, who ran after the rabbit. He saw the rabbit; he said: "Rabbit, thou hast burned my intestine, thou hast deceived me, now we meet!" They ran, they ran until... the rabbit escaped.

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2. Wharf. It must be understood that he traveled by boat on a river like the Refugee Blacks.

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*539 No way to catch the rabbit again! The rabbit saw an agouti which had been dead for a whole week, all swollen up and stinking. He slipped into his belly. He began to groan. The jaguar came; he stopped and said: "Brother agouti, good day!" He replied: "How are you?" -- "Only fair." (1) The jaguar said: "Noble brother, what happened to you?" He said: "The rabbit and I fought, he gave me one single blow, and here I am stretched out dead; that is what he did to me."

The jaguar went on his way. He saw the rabbit in front of him, he said: "Today we meet." They ran until. . . the rabbit escaped. He saw the cadaver of a deer, dead for a week, swollen and stinking. He slipped inside. The jaguar ran until he arrived there. He said: "Brother deer, what happened to you?" He answered: "The rabbit and I quarreled, we fought, then he gave me one single blow and here I am stretched out dead."

The jaguar said: "(I give up.) I and the rabbit, this is the end until the end of the world."

6) Anansi and Death

(One day) Anansi went hunting. He walked until he came out into a large glade. He went ahead until he met a man. He greeted him and said: "Good day, brother!" No answer! -- "Good day, brother!" Nothing; no answer! He said to him: "Hem! Brother! That's meat you have there?" No answer! He said to him: "Since you don't answer me, (it is as though) you were saying to help myself." Comrades, Anansi went up to the cooking-pot and he ate, ate until his belly was full.

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[576] 1. Common formulas of greeting of the Refugee Blacks.

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*539 He said: "Although you don't answer me, we are father- and son-in-law. Tomorrow I shall bring one of my daughters to you." No answer. "Since he says nothing, it means that he agrees." He went, went until he arrived home. He had made a catouri (2) and taken as much meat as he had been able to carry off. The next day he said to his wife Wénon: "I found a place, a good place for hunting. I found a husband for our daughter; he is the one who gave me all that." Wénon said: "That's good."

The following day before dawn, he went to his daughter, said to her: "Take thy work-basket." She got her things ready; they walked, they walked until they /277/ got there. He said: "Son-in-law, good day!" Nothing. He said (to his daughter): "Thou seest how he doesn't answer, he is like that; here is thy husband."

He went to the pot. He ate until his belly was full. He cut palm leaves, wove a catouri, loaded as much meat as he could hold in it. He said: "Son-in-law, I am going away, dwell here with your wife." He loaded up the catouri and went away. The girl saw a very neat trail going to a creek. She took the dirty dish from which her father had eaten, she started on the path. Kwakpwala! The trap was sprung; it was there that Death (for the unknown man was Death) had set his trap.

Death arose, rushed armed with his club, hit her, gbo! It dragged her body to the house, carved it up, put it into the pot, and cooked it. The girl had two rings on her finger as you see I have myself (the narrator shows his hand).

2. Basket to carry on the back.

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#539 The next day before dawn, Anansi came back: "Son-in-law, good day!" No answer! -- "How is your wife?" No answer. -- "I know, she went to the creek to wash dirty dishes; that's good." He put the pot on the ground and began to eat. He ate until his belly was full. He was turning the pot, looking for the best pieces, when suddenly, fang! he saw the rings. He said: "Mother! I am dead; my daughter has been killed." He seized a strong club which was there, then he hit Death on the tibia, bom! Death rushed up; he fled; they ran until they arrived near the village. Then he shouted: "Climb up into the air (to the top of a tree)! Wénon, Asingébélé, Akpwatitikwati, Bigimofu, climb up into the air." -- "What art thou saying, should we bring thee the big pot?" (1) -- "Imbecile! All those meats we ate, it was not I who killed them; he who killed them is running after me." They climbed (to the top of a tree). Anansi jumped, climbed to the top of the tree. Death arrived there; it sat down at the bottom of the tree. They stayed there some time. Asingébélé said: "Father, my arm can't hold any longer." Anansi said to him: "Look at the brother-in-law below, go on down!" (2) He dropped down. Death stunned him gbo! and threw him aside. They remained a certain length of time longer, then Akpwatitikwati said: "Father, I am exhausted." Anansi said to him: "All those meats

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1. Play on words. Wenon understands paatu, pot, instead of a tapu, in the air.

2. Anansi does not try to save his life by sacrificing his children, he only tells them to be resigned to the inevitable.

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*539 we ate, it was he who killed them; look at the brother-in-law below; go on down!" He dropped down. Death stunned him, then threw him aside.

(Same scene; Anansi's last child, then his wife Wenon, drop down in turn. Anansi remains alone at the top of the tree.)

...Anansi stayed. He resisted, resisted until... he said: "Son-in-law, you know what you must do. I have eaten much of your meat, I am fat. Go and get banana leaves and many ashes, so that when I fall, my body may not burst and my fat be lost. If I fall on the bare ground, my body /278/ will burst." Death stood up, vou! cut banana leaves, picked up as many ashes as it could.

"Look well at the spot where I am going to fall, I am coming." Death looked at the pile of ashes! plaou! Anansi fell right in the middle (the ashes spurted out in every direction). In the time that Death took to wipe its eyes, Anansi had fled.

Thus it is that Anansi came to carry Death among us. Before, Death used to stay in the bush; it killed animals but not men. It is because of Anansi that it came to separate and kill men.

7) Anansi, Buchi Mama, and Wata Mama (1)

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1. Maleficent divinities of the bush and the water, which are not worshiped.

Anansi, one day, went into the bush. He went to see the Bush-Mama. He said to her: "Bush-Mama, will you have a tug-of-war with me?" /Fr. expression corde raide usually means "tightrope," but gist of story indicates transl. given. -- Tr./ The Bush-Mama said to him: "What? Have you looked at me? Strong as I am, you aspire to a tug-of-war against me?" He said: "Bush-Mama, you lie, you are not capable of vanquishing me. I am sure to pull you as far as the village, step by step,

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#539 so that the people will see you." She answered: "It is I who will drag you as far as the bush." They discussed it to the insult stage, and wagered. They agreed to set Sunday as the test time; she should pull the end of a rope going out from the village. She said: "Very well." -- "I am proud of my ancestors, Bush-Mama. You will not drag me into the bush, I am the one who will drag you inside the village."

Then he came back to the village and went to the river. He rushed into the water, dyou! he went up to the Water-Mama. He said to her: "Will you have a tug-of-war against me? The Water-Mama answered: "It is I who will drag you into the river." Anansi said: "I am sure to drag you up on land so that the people will see how you look." Again they wagered and set Sunday as the test day. He said: "Very well, on the day set I shall come into the water to hold out the end of a rope to you." The Water-Mama said: "Very well. I shall stay there to take the end of the rope." We shall see who is a man and who is not."

He went back to his village. Saturday afternoon he set up a tyifunga (2) enclosure around the village, as far as the river and as far as the bush behind the village. He cleaned the village completely. He cut a long and strong rope, he went to slip one end of it into the river, he went to put the other in the bush.

On Sunday the Bush-Mama and the Water-Mama came and each pulled on an end of the rope. Anansi himself was not

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2. Magic enclosure made of pinot palm leaves strung on a cord, to which is attributed the power to stop bad influences. After putting up the enclosure they purify the village by cleaning it completely.

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*539 pulling, but each one thought: "It is Anansi." Anansi's gita came into his head, he began to sing and dance.

(The narrator sings a sequence of onomatopoeias, repeated in chorus by the audience.) ~~/279/~~

/279/The two divinities struggled at the rope. The Water-Mama was dragged to the middle of the village, step by step, pata, pata, pata! Anansi jumped into the air, did all sorts of freakish things. Then the Bush-Mama was dragged to the middle of the village, with rocks on her body. Thus all men could see their faces.

Then the Bush-Mama backed out toward the forest, the Water-Mama rushed into the water, d,ou! That is what Anansi did. Since, these divinities have never allowed their faces to be seen by men any more. The Bush-Mama stayed in the bush, the Water-Mama stayed in the water; they hurt men. I have finished, gbolon!

8) Anansi and the Steamboat

There was a king; he had a daughter. He raised her until she became a big girl. Comrades, she was pretty. Men to the last one wanted her for a wife. But to all her suitors she used to say: "I shall belong to the one who will bring a steamboat to my father." In those times men did not know about steamboats; there were none in the country of the Whites, since the country of the Whites did not exist. How to know about the steamboat? All the people of that country, all the animals asked it. To all she would answer: "Since I said that a steamboat was necessary, if you are not capable of finding it, leave me alone!" Anansi said: I shall have that woman, I, Anansi." He went to her, he said: "Sister, thank you very much, come!" The girl ran to the door. He courted her assiduously. She said to him: "Anansi, you, too, know what I have demanded: a steamboat for my father. Bring it and I shall be your wife."

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*539 He said: "What? You are at a loss for a little thing like a steamboat? That's a small matter for me. I shall find you that very quickly. Tomorrow, ask your father to give me a kernel of corn." The next day, Anansi arrived and said: "Then give me (the kernel of corn)." She took a whole ear of corn; he said: "I don't want the whole ear, but one single kernel; with that kernel I shall buy the steamboat." He jumped into his boat, he said: "I am going away." He paddled, going down the river, until he arrived at a village. The people shouted to him from the bank: "Uncle Anansi, come to land!" He said: "I can't come, I am carrying a letter from the king." That time Anansi was successful. The people said to him: "Come on, we shall put it in a safe place." He said: "Here I am already, why did you call me?" The people said: "Come with us, brother, we are hungry for you." He said (to the women): "Very well, sisters." They prepared the food. The people said: "Where is the king's letter?" He said: "It is that kernel of corn." They took it and put it in a safe place. He stayed awake until they were asleep, he opened softly, he went to take the kernel of corn. He went to the chicken coop, he threw it to the poultry who picked it up; corn and poultry do not go together.

He slept until morning. He said: "Bachia (1), please

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1. Assistant head of the village.

give me the letter." The bachia went to get the kernel of corn. Nothing! He said: "Ho, ho, Anansi, we have lost it; we shall give you another." He said: "It is not another that I want, /280/ for I was passing on my way on the river, it was you who called me without any reason; give me a rooster. If you do not give me any rooster, we shall fight to the death in this village." They took a rooster and gave it to him.

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#539 He embarked in his boat. He paddled until evening, until he passed in front of a village. The people shouted to him from the bank: "Uncle Anansi, come to land, come to land." He said: "I can't come, I am carrying a letter from the king." They said: "Come on, we shall put it in a safe place." He came alongside, he said: "Why did you call me?" The people said: "Because we haven't seen you for a long time." He said: "Very well." -- "Where is the letter?" -- "It is this rooster."

They took the rooster, they shut it up in a basket. They set the table and served him a good meal. He ate until it was gone. He unpacked his things; he slept until midnight. He opened, he went to the rooster, took it and threw it into a pig-pen, vo! The pigs ate it, gwili-gwolo! He slept until the next day. He said: "Bachia, please give me my letter." The bachia went to get the rooster. Nothing! He did not see it. He said: "We shall give you another." Anansi answered: "That won't do, for I was passing by on the river, it was you who called me and enticed me to land without any reason; give me a pig. If you do not give me a pig today, I shall kill you in this village." They took a pig and put it in his boat.

He paddled, paddled until...he arrived at a village.

(By the same process, Anansi exchanges his pig for an ox.)

....It was about ten o'clock in the evening. He passed before a village where a child had died; a mother's little one was dead, the people were making the coffin. The comrade passed by. The people shouted: "Uncle Anansi, come to land, come to land. Someone has died here; come help us." He said: "I can't, I am carrying a letter from the king." They said: "We shall put it in a safe place." He arrived. They took the ox, they tied it to a branch. They set the table for him. Death was in this village; they put the body into the coffin. They danced until....night.

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*539

During the night he got up and went and untied the ox which escaped into the bush.

The next day he said to the bachia: "Bachia, please go and get my ox." The bachia looked for it in vain. He said: "Anansi, the ox has escaped into the bush." We shall give you another." -- "That won't do," said Anansi; "I was passing by on the river and you called me without any reason. Give me the dead child."

They said: "Uncle Anansi, we cannot give him to you, he is already in the coffin." "Let's make an end of it," said Anansi, "you are provoking me." The bachia went to tell the mother (of the dead child) that a misfortune had arrived(1).

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1. It is to be noted that it is not from the lineage head that one asks for authorization to dispose of the body, but from the mother alone.

She agreed to it. They broke the coffin and gave the body to Anansi. He put it in the bow of the boat and paddled until he came to a big bend in the river. Once out of sight of the village people, he /281/ made a little paddle. He went to the bow seat of the boat, he fastened the dead child to it with glue. He put the body in a sitting position, as if it were alive, he fastened the paddle in its hand.

He paddled until he heard something like the noise of a boat. He said to himself: "Listen, stand up, perhaps a boat is coming." He placed the boat in the strongest part of the current, he paddled hard, standing in the stern. He heard better, he said: "It is a ship." He shouted: "Ah, ah! Today I meet thee, thou whom I sought for so long." He saw clearly that it was a ship. Comrades, he paddled in the current; the

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*539 big boat avoided him. Anansi paddled toward it, paddled until... gbo! (collision) the small boat sank. Anansi in the water shouted: "You have drowned the king's child, give back to me, give back the king's child to me quickly, if not, Whites, who are in that ship, you and I are going to die!(1)"

1. Obvious contradiction with the beginning of the tale where it is said that in those times the country of the Whites did not exist. But none of the listeners appears to worry about it.

They stopped the big boat. They hoisted Anansi on board. They fished out the small boat, but did not find the dead child.

The Whites told him: "We do not find the king's child. What must be done to finish up this business?" He said: "Give me the big boat." They acquiesced.

He went back up the river with the big boat. He arrived at the pier of the king's village. Anansi shot off the cannon. On land, they fired the cannon too. Anansi was received triumphally, the king's daughter put a ring on his finger, and they were married. Thus it was that the king had a steamboat.

9) Pikinbaya (2)

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2. This tale is a theme of the Creole Blacks of Paramaribo.

There was a woman; she had a child whom she named Pikinbaya (3). One day she gave him food to take to the market

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3. The name means "little comrade."

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to sell, bananas and yams. He sold it all and got two sous; he took the two sous and bought a little snake(4). He came back home, they asked him: "Where is the money?" He said: "That is what I bought, a little snake."

They whipped him until he was nearly dead. He went into the bush until he found a place; he dug a fine round hole. He filled it with water and put the snake in it. He gave it small fish.

The next day he took food again. He walked, walked until he came to the market. Comrades, again he sold all the food. He saw a woman at the entrance to the market with parrots. He said to her: "Woman, how much is a parrot?" She said: "I sell one for one sou." He said: "Give me this one." He took the parrot. He saw another woman who had rats. He said: "Woman, how much is a rat?" She said: "I sell one for one sou." He bought the rat.

He went back home.

They asked him: "Where is the money?" He said: "That is what I bought, a parrot /282/ and a rat." Comrades! They took the boy, they hit him until he was nearly dead.

His mother said to his father: "All that happens there is thy fault. He must not be given food to sell any more."

The next day, they did not give him any. Pikinbaya kept quiet and busied himself with his snake until the snake told him: "I am hot, I want to go into a brook." He lifted it, put it on his neck. He carried it to the brook and put it in. Then he came back to the village.

4. Mboma (couleuvre of the Creoles) is the large anaconda water snake.

*539 /282 cont./

He hunted (to feed the snake), caught small fish for it. One day the snake (which had grown) said to him: "Pikinbaya, I don't want to stay any longer in this brook. Take me to a big river." The snake went down the brook, Pikinbaya walking along the bank. They went down until... they came to a big creek. The snake stayed there. The boy went away but came back (regularly) to see the snake. He used to hunt for it and bring it meat. The snake grew bigger! It became adult. One day when he had come to see it, it told him: "Pikinbaya! I want to go to the river, I want to feed on fish like other snakes." It went downstream, Pikinbaya walked along the bank until... they had arrived at the river. The snake said: "Well, Pikinbaya, I am going away."

(A confused and boring passage follows. It takes Pikinbaya along to the village of the snakes and gives him a talisman enclosed in a pot, which will guarantee him luck and prosperity.)

....Pikinbaya stayed there until... he understood that it would come back no more. He set out on the path, walked, walked until he came to his village. His family was poverty-stricken. They did not even have any more salt to eat. The boy arrived. He hung the pot on a cashew apple tree /pommier cajou/.

(Immediately Pikinbaya's village became prosperous.)

Comrades! Even Paris was not so rich as it. Big ships came alongside Pikinbaya's village.

Now this country was governed by a king who was very rich; he said to himself: "That astounds me, Pikinbaya is richer than I. All my workmen leave me to go to him. He pays up to ten florins a day(1). I am going to send my eldest daughter to

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1. The Refugee Blacks cannot imagine a king otherwise than as a boss paying his workmen.

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*539 discover what makes Pikinbaya rich like that and tell me." He took his eldest daughter, put her on a boat, on a big boat. The boat left the wharf of the king's village, it went until... it arrived at the wharf of Pikinbaya's village, a very large wharf. The cannon thundered (in her honor). Pikinbaya came in a big automobile and took the girl by the little finger; she got into the car which went as far as inside the grounds /of the house/. They entered the house. They stayed there until a whole week had /283/ slipped by. Then she said: "Pikinbaya," -- they were stretched out on the bed (1) -- "I am going to go away." He said: "Good, that's all right!" She said: "Pikinbaya, what makes you so rich?" He said: ""You want to know? It is a pot I have at the head of my bed." She took the pot, enclosed it in an iron case, loaded it into the car, and the boat left the wharf.

(Immediately poverty swooped down on the village.)

Comrades, Pikinbaya's village became dirtier than Boniville (laughs from the audience, for Boniville is a badly

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1. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the image which the Refugee Blacks conceive of woman, as reflected by this tale. That the king's daughter agrees to give herself immediately to a man she has never seen poses no problem whatever. The narrator, so wordy elsewhere, does not grant a sentence for the description of the woman and her love affair with Pikinbaya.

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*539 kept village), more overrun by the bush than Puu Mofu (2).

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2. Village abandoned and
overrun by the bush south of
Boniville.

Pikinbaya no longer had anything to wear but an old rice sack, for it was that pot which used to make the village rich.

The parrot said: "I would gladly go to look for the pot, but I have no teeth." The rat said: "If I had had wings, I would have gone to look for the pot." The parrot said to him: "Come on my back." He jumped on the parrot's back. He flew, flew... until...he alighted on the big mast of the boat, kpwala! The rat reached the iron case. He gnawed it, kwokwo! burst it, took the pot, pa! At the moment when people were beginning to notice the parrot's presence, he flew away, flew, as far as... Pikinbaya's village.

There is Pikinbaya, rich again.

The king's eldest daughter arrived at her father's village. The king came with his automobile to get his daughter and the trunk. They arrived at the palace, he opened the trunk: nothing! He said: "That astounds me. But I must find that pot which makes Pikinbaya rich, I must know where it is." The king had three daughters. He said: "I am going to send the second to him; she will succeed in finding that object."

(The same scene is repeated. The daughter succeeds in seizing the pot which she puts into an iron casket, enclosed in an iron case. The parrot and the rat go and win it back, but the rat breaks one of his incisors.)

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*539 Upon arrival the parrot said: "Pikinbaya, if thou allowest another woman to take this pot away from thee, I shall not go any more to find it. My eyes are irritated by the sea wind." The rat said: "Look at my incisors, I used to have four of them, one is broken, three remain. If thou allowest another woman to take this pot, thou wilt remain in poverty until the end of thy days, I shall not go any more."

The king's second daughter arrived in her father's village. The king said: "That astounds me. I am going to send him my last daughter, it is absolutely necessary for me to find this object."

A week later he put his youngest daughter on board a boat provided with three iron trunks fitted one inside the other. /284/ Pikinbaya came with his automobile to receive her at the wharf and drove her to his house. They stayed there a week. She said: "Now I am going to leave." Pikinbaya said to her: "You wish to leave?" She said: "What makes you so rich?" He replied: "You want to know what makes me rich?" He took a pistol and killed her point-blank. (Laughs from the audience.) He embalmed the body with camphor. He took it, put it in the first trunk, the first into the second. He fastened a paper on the trunk, saying "What the girl had come to get, she found."

The following week the boat came back to the king's village. The king opened the first trunk, kpwa! The second trunk, kpwa! He opened the last trunk and saw his daughter's corpse with the abdomen open.

Then the king said: "I am dead." He took a pistol and killed himself.

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10) Anansi and the Pretty Woman (summarized)

There was a very pretty and very much desired woman. She used to say to all her suitors: "I shall be yours if you pledge your word, when I am dead, to be buried alive with me under my coffin." Nobody wanted to take that pledge. Anansi, who desired this woman, came to her and said: "I take this pledge, but I too lay down one condition: Whenever I have left a village, I can no longer return there." The woman agreed to this and they lived together.

One day the woman died. They reminded Anansi of the pledge he had taken. There they are on the way to the cemetery, the coffin ahead, Anansi behind, then the village people. Anansi lay down at the bottom of the grave and the coffin was lowered.

Anansi shouted: "You are crushing me, you hurt me, take away that coffin." Surprised, the people lifted the coffin. Then Anansi reminded them of the condition he had laid down: "Whenever I have left a village, I can no longer come back to it." (It must be understood that he had just left the village of the dead.)

He jumped on the edge of the grave and ran away.

11) Anansi and the Unknown Man (summarized)

One day, Anansi was working cutting his clearing. He heard a voice in a neighboring clearing, which shouted: "Who is there?" He said: "It is I, Anansi." The voice continued: "Dost thou want me to help thee?" He said: "Yes!" He saw a man come whom he did not know. The man began to cut the clearing with him.

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They worked thus for some time. Then the man said: "It is time to stop to eat." -- "What shall we eat?" said Anansi. The man replied: "I know only one food: battle. I am going to wrestle with thee."

(It must be understood that this was a bad genie which had taken on the appearance of a man.) /285/

/285/ The man wrestled with Anansi, and as he was much stronger, he threw him to the ground and subdued him. Then, making an iron rod, which was there, red in the fire, he poked it into his anus. Then he went away.

Anansi howled with pain and wept a long time. Then he got up painfully and dragged himself home.

He said to his wife Wénon: "I am tired from cutting the clearing all day long. Tomorrow, it is thou who wilt go to continue the work."

The next day, Wénon was cutting the clearing when she heard a voice which was saying: "Who is there?" She said: "It is I, Wénon." The voice continued: "Dost thou want me to go help thee?" She said: "Yes." She saw a man come whom she did not know. The man began to cut the clearing with her. They worked thus for some time. Then the man said: "It is time to stop to eat." -- "What shall we eat?" said Wénon. The man replied: "I know only one food, battle, I am going to wrestle with thee."

Wénon shouted: "But I am a woman, I cannot wrestle."

The man answered: "Woman or man, it's all the same to me; I want battle." He knocked her down and subdued her. Then, heating the iron rod in the fire, he poked it into her anus.

Wénon howled with pain and wept a long time. Then she got up painfully and dragged herself home.

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12) The Brother, the Sister, and the King (summarized)

There was a brother and sister. They were in the greatest poverty. They went through the country looking for work, until they arrived at the king's home. The king told them: "You are looking for something to live on; I wish to see a little elephant, I have never yet been able to see one. Find one and bring it to me, I shall reward you."

Then the brother said to the sister: "I am going to cover thee with cloth, hide thy head, fasten a rope around thy waist."

This he did, and they went on the road to the king's house.

She turned her back to the king and while her brother held her at the end of a rope, danced, as I shall show you.

[522] (The narrator executes a burlesque dance, bent over double, his back turned toward the spectators who shake with laughter.)

Then the king said: "I don't need to see the front of the elephant, he is too ugly." / /

/286/ 13) Anansi and the Toclo Partridge

The toclo partridge had made a large clearing. Since she used to go to it by flying, she had made no path for going there. One day Anansi passed by, he saw this clearing in the middle of the uninhabited forest, without any road leading to it. He said; "It is God who has made this clearing for me," and he marked out a wide path from the clearing to his house. The partridge arrived unexpectedly and said to him: "It was I who made this clearing." Anansi said to her: "I do not believe you; if it had been you who made the clearing, there would be a road."

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*539 They went to plead the case before the grand man. Anansi won.

The partridge decided to take revenge. Some time later, she announced that her mother had died, and invited the inhabitants of the forest to dance for the mourning. They came in crowds.

The partridge had had her mother go up into a tree. She pretended to invoke her spirit, saying: "Mother who art in God's country, do something for me, for I am poverty-stricken. Procure for me tafia and provisions for the guests."

She held out her hand and her mother put in it a bottle of tafia which she showed to those present. Then provisions, and everything needed to treat the dancers.

Anansi saw that, and when he went home he said to his mother Bobilanga: "The partridge's mother, who is in heaven, procures for her all that she needs, and thou who art here, thou art of no use to me, thou dost only eat my food." He took a stick and hit his mother, who fell dead.

He assembled the people of the neighborhood to dance the *broko dę*. He invoked the spirit of his mother as he had seen the partridge do. Nothing! He saw nothing come. The people thought he was making fun of them. They threw themselves upon him and struck him. Thus Anansi killed his mother for nothing.

14) Anansi and the Tortoise (summarized)

One day Anansi invited the animals of the forest to a feast. He had put the dishes on a high table. Only the tortoise could not get up to it. Anansi left her on the ground; she departed, furious.

Some time later, the tortoise announced that she was inviting the animals of the forest to a feast. They came in crowds.

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*539 She had placed the table at the bottom of the water. Only Anansi was not able to have access to it, for spiders float on the water (1).

1. This is the only allusion made in this whole series of tales to Anansi as a spider.

Anansi placed in his loincloth a big stone to make himself heavy, and he arrived at the table. The tortoise, who had seen his stratagem, said to the assembled animals: "Before eating, let's undo our belts to be more comfortable."

Anansi, forgetting the stone, undid his belt. The stone fell, and he found himself again floating on the surface of the water. /E /

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Odo (proverbs, riddles)
Riddles

--I have taken a prisoner. If I cannot tie his hands behind his back, I cannot take him back home.

(It is an iguana lizard; people usually fasten the paws above the head in order to immobilize them.)

--A creek, in it there is only one aïmara (1);

1. Large fish with a massive body.

(It is the mouth, with the tongue.)

--I have a village, in it there are completely white people;

(It is the mouth, with the teeth.)

--I am raising a little dog, he has his tail inside his belly;

(It is the cramanioc, whose tubercule has a hard fiber in the axis.)

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*539 --I have a pot, it cooks uppermost, it does not cook downward;

(It is a pipe.)

--A hole in a hole, fantasia comes out of the hole;

(It is a flute.)

--A post that makes a house;

(It is an umbrella.)

--I cut a path to... far away. Coming back, I see it no longer, everything is blocked.

(It is the wake of a boat.)

Proverbs

You have a sum of money which you like. You take it to buy an object which you will like less.

[494] (Picturesque justification of hoarding which is one of the principle passions of the Refugee Blacks.)

Thou thoughtst thus, but it is not thus that thou camest.

(Thou didst not act according to thy thought.)

I cut a clearing, I take a handful of groundnuts, it fills a chest and a barrel.

(Idea of fertility.)

Pushed and pulled, in what position do you hold yourself erect?

(One must know how to make a definite decision.)

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CHAPTER IX

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SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ECONOMY OF THE REFUGEE BLACKS.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER POPULATIONS

Influence of the Social Institutions and Psychological Tendencies of the Refugee Blacks on Their Material Life and Their Economy

157 182 Certain psychological tendencies of the Refugee Blacks, in part bound up with their moral and religious conceptions and with the historical conditions under which these societies were formed, directly influence their material life in its various aspects: implantation on the ground, agriculture, paid work, trade.

The principal one of these tendencies is individualism, concern for complete material independence.

157 241 311 Influence on agriculture. We have seen that the clearings of the various households issuing from the same kin group were very rarely grouped together. On the contrary, the Refugee Blacks like to disperse their cultivated lands; even in the recently occupied zones where land is not lacking, it happens that one finds isolated clearings in the middle of primary forest more than a kilometer from the riverbank, at the mercy of predatory animals. Ecological conditions, in particular the concern with protection against the manioc-ant, do not explain this dispersion. The Boni recognize that it would be preferable, for fighting the manioc-ant, to group each year all the plantations of one lineage

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157 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections
241 immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home,
311 people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman,
241 and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order
[592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee
476 Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping them-
454 selves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends, 10,000 francs

/290 cont./

426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

157 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

157 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, 157 577 426 it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1).

[648] 1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone [613] else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

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695 461 157 The Refugee Blacks have a sense of contract to a high degree, and they bring /291/ to the execution of work to which they have committed themselves qualities of seriousness, initiative, and a sense of duty not found to the same degree in Black Africa.

157 671 571 Refusal of any lasting commitment. If the Refugee Blacks honor their contracts, they do not like to commit themselves for a long period.

This attitude results from their desire for independence, but also from the moral and religious law which governs their society.

This law forbids infringing on the liberty of persons, humiliating anyone, and doing anything which might be able to plunge him into anger or affliction. Its effect is to prevent any exploitation of the weak, any creation of a servant or proletarian caste. It even leads to the absence of any permanent subordination of one man to another.

[466] The desire for independence of the Refugee Blacks makes them unwilling to bind themselves definitively to a job, however profitable. When a man judges that he has put aside sufficient savings, he leaves the job which furnished him with these resources.

[464] This tendency makes the search for paid work much more difficult and hazardous; it happens that a man may stay for years without finding gainful work, living in straitened circumstances. But that is the price of independence, and it is accepted without hesitation.

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159 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which
464 turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the
463 traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building,
felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework.
In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves,
the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and con-
812 sider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new
things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be
better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gain-
ful work again.

152 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and
182 trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct
influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to
828 limit enrichment and to maintain a *de facto* equality: it often
556 happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work
753 in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render
777 their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes
upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down
illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and
on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even
without sorcery being formulated.

754 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who be-
556 comes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a
441 sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly
829 vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People
do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by
/292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth in-
creases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded
as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a
result of a pact with the devil.

/292 cont./

754 556 In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation
441 of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal
438 trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice
366 only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

463 The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trad-
829 ing with one another contributes toward preventing the develop-
[438] ment of specialized professions among them. Specialization
does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building
boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes
himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these
specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect
to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house,
to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and
castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the
463 moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect
829 of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating,
593 by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists main-
182 taining idle mistresses. We have never heard it said that a
461 richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work
he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his
wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of
his brow, and that contributes toward maintaining in its mean-
ing and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and
wife.

182 Thus the geographic conditions, associated with in-
157 fluences of a social and psychological order, impose on the
433 Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with
648 the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary
wage-earning.

/292 cont./

Relations with the Other Populations

648
The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed
world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis
with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians,
177 Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception
829 of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they
have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have
accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds
and duties toward other men.

648 Just as their economy on the material plane is based on
829 exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with
the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe.
152 The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them
829 an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious
577 blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which
forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these
notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and
that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust.
648 But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the
Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of
trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in
Africa.

619 Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-
(643) defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks,
but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium
of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

[578] The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against
the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the
Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in
nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual
relations from being cordial.

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619 829 The Saramaka are very highly esteemed everywhere, for it is unanimously assumed that their magic is stronger, their techniques more perfected, than those of the other tribes.

175 648 Relations with the Indians. The relations between the Boni and the Oayana Indians are extremely curious and interesting. They were probably established from the end of the 18th century on. Several writers have stated that Boni and Indians fought each other for a long time; the examination we made of authentic archive documents, unfortunately few in number, capable of throwing light on the history of the Maroni, does not confirm this hypothesis (1). One can think on the contrary that symbiotic

175 726 1. The only combats pointed out took place about 1840 between the Boni and the Wayakulé "Oyaricoulets" Indians, a very primitive tribe who lived on the Oulémari and was itself at war with the Oayana.

175 648 727 The Boni were certainly already allied with the Oayana at the time of the battles on the Maroni in 1793, since after their defeat the survivors, grouped around Agosu son of Boni, took refuge on the Maruini River which they went up as far as the region of its sources, where nobody could catch up with them. Now it was precisely there that the Oayana Indians were living at the end of the 18th century. They would not have tried this maneuver if they had not had the certainty of finding refuge

/293 cont./

175 with their allies. The sites of
648 their villages, marked on Coudreau's
727 map (1888) are in immediate proximity
to those of former Oayana villages.

175 relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural
648 fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of
[643] the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it
results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river,
which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them
in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days
gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians,
this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of con-
648 quered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each
829 group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an
activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says:
[439] "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is
that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while
the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl
is perfectly understood by both.

648 Marriages between the two groups, without being for-
582 bidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 2. The marriage of Grand Man
156 Awensay to an Indian woman about
643 1915 was inspired by complex
648 motives. Toward the end of his life,
582 Awensay could no longer stand the
Boni, his imperious personality
putting up badly with their individualism
and their taste for discussion. He had
established the Indian country a farming
habitation in which he lived nearly all

159 156 643 648 582 /293 cont./

year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

648 582 Awensay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

114 648 Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Grébert (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.

/224 cont./

618 It seems that in these relations, both bring more patience and tolerance to bear than toward the people of their own group. It is excessively rare to see disputes arise between Indians and Boni, when there sometimes are some within each group.

186 The feelings which the Boni have toward the Indians are complex: they feel superior in physical strength, effectiveness, and organization; they make fun of the Indians' puerile eagerness for beads and jewelry, of the begging attitude of certain

829 ones among them. But they admire them for their cleverness, their intimate knowledge of the forest, and fear them for the supernatural powers they attribute to them. Sure of themselves, fearing nothing from the bush, never getting lost, unrivalled hunters and fishermen, the Indians appear to them to be endowed with unique faculties which other men do not possess. We have happened to hear in camp reflections such as this: "It is going to rain, the Indians are making shacks."

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152 The Boni feel an intense fear of Indian magic. Not one of them would dare to seriously displease an Indian, and even if he feels he has been wronged, in most cases he will not dare complain (1).

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829 1. In the search for the magic causes of death, it happens that divination may incriminate the action of an Indian medicine man. In such a case the legal action of the Boni is extinguished, for the principle is that the Indian medicine man does not hurt anyone without a reason. It is considered that the deceased must have gravely injured him and that he deserved his fate.

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648 A picturesque incident once more showed us this attitude in the course /295/ of a circuit on the Litani in 1962. When [1962] we passed through AloTké village, our four Boni boatmen, who had killed some coumarou, had prepared a very appetizing dish for themselves; they had scarcely begun to eat when several Indians arrived unexpectedly who joined in the conversation, sat down beside them, then began to dip their spoons into the pot. Other Indians came and, continuing to talk things over deliberately and without hurrying, came and took their share of the feast. The Boni were progressively pushed back to the [152] second row and finally gave up. Three of them laughed about [illegible] this incident which was familiar to them; the fourth was furious but he did not dare say anything, for, said he to us, if he struck the Indians as he wanted to, he risked being bewitched.

648 643 In truth, what is the nature of the authority that the grand man of the Boni is supposed to exercise over the Indians? Does it involve precise obligations, a tribute, vexatious measures? Not in the least: it is reduced nowadays to two things:

--The principle of the obedience of the Indian village heads to the person of the grand man;

--The interdiction of transport by boat in the Boni fashion.

One can only approve of this interdiction which protects the Indians more than it harms them. As for the personal influence of Grand Man Difu, it is extremely favorable; he has a profound knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians, toward whom he has always exhibited an interest and sympathy which are certainly sincere. When, during the ceremonies at the fraga tiki, he appeals to the ancestors to ask them to watch over the Boni, he does not fail to add: gaã yɔɔka, de mu luku de Ingi: Ancestors, watch over the Indians.

648 It is also said of the Boni that they are interested in the Indians only in order to traffic with them. Even if that were true -- we have shown how inexact this assertion was -- we should hold all the same that it is much less dangerous for the

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648 Indians to trade with them than with the Europeans and Creoles;
the Boni are a graded society in which things tend to take place
according to well-defined norms. It suffices to compare the
Oayana Indians, who have kept the essentials of their civilization,
with the Indians of the Oyapok to be convinced that the Boni
have protected the former much more than they have oppressed
them.

[464] Relations with the Creoles. The Boni are in constant contact
with Creole gold miners and traders, for the benefit of whom
they carry out many kinds of work (boating, tree-felling, con-
[191] struction). Most of them speak the Creole dialect very well
[829] and are well informed on the Creole type of life.

On the whole, relations between the two groups are good.
[829] On the Upper Maroni, it is mainly a matter of Creoles of African
blood, who have come from the British West Indies, whom the
Boni do not consider to be extremely different from themselves.
Many have been settled there for a very long time, and individual
friendships have become established; yet the two groups have
not the least tendency to merge. /[illegible]/
/296/The Creoles have only scorn for the civilization of the
Refugee Blacks, which reminds them of a detested African past.
They have a feeling of superiority and do not cease exhorting
the Boni to adopt their clothing and way of life.

829 The feelings that the Boni have toward the Creoles are
complex; they clearly perceive that the activity of the gold
miners is artificial and that isolated people are incapable of
living by their own efforts in the midst of this pitiless forest.
When they have become old and sick, the gold miners experience
the worst distress and literally die of hunger until they are
888 evacuated to the hospice of Saint Laurent. Among the Refugee
Blacks, old men are assured of a decent life in the midst of the
members of their lineage, who surround them with affectionate
respect.

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888 829 This is a point of view which has great importance in the eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration

829 177 178 [114] with respect to the population of the communes. For all these reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

648 464 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks constitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling).

648 461 [465] They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

[177] 1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.

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648 So relations between the Europeans and Refugee Blacks have nothing in common with what one observes in Africa: one notes their faults without indulgence, but one admires them for their strong personality, their art, and their techniques, and one bears an esteem for them which is not feigned.

829 The Refugee Blacks feel neither hate nor jealousy toward Europeans. This /297/ may surprise one at first, for they have had to put up with cruel wars fought against them, which have left a precise memory with them; but the explanation is simple: the Boni have no hate because their life is happy, and they have no jealousy because they do not try to imitate the Europeans and are satisfied with their own civilization.

193 186 On this subject it will be noted that the Refugee Blacks recall the time of slavery without shame and without any inferiority complex; this is simply because they do not have the feeling of being the descendants of slaves; they feel themselves to be the descendants of warriors who imposed their independence by force of arms; the Djuka, exaggerating to themselves the scope of the successes won by their ancestors, even have a certain superiority complex. Proud of their ancestors, the Refugee Blacks do not feel in any way inferior to the white man and behave toward him as equal to equal.

648 084 The Boni, like the Djuka and the Saramaka in Surinam, live under a de facto regime which is equivalent to internal autonomy. This regime was instituted for the Boni from their first contact with the French administration in 1861; it has always been associated with perfect loyalty.

The French administration, which until recent times did not have any permanent establishments in the interior of the country, has never tried to interfere with the interior functioning of the tribes which went on and still goes on according to their own law. The Refugee Blacks have thus been spared that hybrid jurisdiction, applying a customary law altered by European ideas,

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648 which in Black Africa has so powerfully contributed toward the destruction of traditional structures.

[829] Truth to tell, the problem was simpler, for the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, involving no form of oppression of individuals and assuming the right of the woman to self-determination, reduce to the vanishing point the sources of disputes between individuals and groups.

[162] In 1946 the administrative post of Maripasoula was created, near the confluence of the Lawa and the Inini. Since that time, the gendarmerie has administered to the satisfaction of all and without any incident a heterogeneous population of 2,000 persons, gold miners, Refugee Blacks, and Indians, scattered over [943] a vast territory. The medical post created at Maripasoula in 1949 is very much frequented by the Boni and performs an extremely useful function on the psychological as well as on the social level.

The relations of the various groups give rise to very small frictions, one with another, but the Refugee Blacks never give occasion for intervention in the internal affairs of their groups. [505] Respectful of the administration, they carry out punctually their commitments to their employers, insuring all the transport on the river according to a modus vivendi established for a long time (1).

609 On this subject it is to be noted that disagreeable incidents occur each time the Boni deal with inexperienced travelers who do not know the customs of the river or do not wish to apply them. In a general way the Refugee Blacks, of their own accord respectful of anyone who comes to do a useful job, loathe tourists; they cannot stand being photographed or observed like queer animals.

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648 Never do they appeal to the courts to settle their differences, still less their family quarrels; never do they beg for help.

829 The Europeans' material superiority does not impress them: the whites are more able in mechanics, but they are more able in magic, that is all. [758] The efficacy of European medicine does not shake their convictions: if someone has reasons to believe himself victim of the anger of a gadu, he begins by making the sacrifices intended to appease it, then asks it for authorization to have himself cared for by the whites. [123] [753] Personally we have never done anything to disabuse the Boni of this idea which satisfies at the same time the requirements of medicine and those of social discipline, for it must not be forgotten that for them 177 sickness is punishment for an offense. Thus one sees that unless it is deliberately brought to bear against tradition and against the leaders, the influence of Europeans is without appreciable effect on the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. It is no longer the same when contacts become too frequent, tend to alter drastically the way of life, and especially when these influences become openly "civilizing."

178

The Future of the Refugee Blacks

Obliged to solve all the problems of life by their own means, the Refugee Blacks have been able to adapt with intelligence to the evolution of the modern world, and their custom 648 has kept all its vigor and effectiveness. Their future would not seem to be threatened if a wave of opinion had not come to the surface these past years, in French Guiana as well as in Surinam, to destroy their civilization, deemed primitive and barbarous, and to fuse them into the population of the coast. This result would be obtained in particular by schooling and evangelization.

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114 Here desirous of remaining on the plane of strict scientific
objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefit
springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate
a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that
it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more
177 than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a
dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and
broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching re-
ceived left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no
room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the
mass of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own
in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school in-
[829] struction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni
are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which
assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living.

797 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance
177 for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam.
It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in
184 French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka
working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more
recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

[648] 1. The Saramaka not only have no
tendency to be converted, but they
exert a significant influence on the
population of the communes. On
[756] the Oyapok the Saramaka healer
[787] has numerous clients, and in spite of
the clergy's interdiction, many
women go to the possession dances
of the Papa gudu serpent gods.

/299 cont./

771 The Boni, as we have shown, do not feel that they are pagans. They think they worship the same god as the Christians, in a different way but just as valid; they feel that their moral principles are not inferior to those of the Christians, that they are expressed in practice by the same prescriptions and are in fact better obeyed(2).

[828] 2. We report here faithfully the point of view of those concerned without making any judgment of its worth; let us recall that their principles of living do not assume any moral conscience in the individual and rest entirely upon the fear of material punishments in the present life. But even this base gives them great practical effectiveness.

829 Only in their conception of their kinship and the family, in the absence of family life based on the indissolubly united couple, do they recognize that they live under another law. But they do not fail to notice that the populations of the Guianas who profess Christianity hardly put it into practice in their family life: the stability of marriages is appreciably greater among the Refugee Blacks.

787 776 828 As for the cults of possession, the Boni feel that they worship de facto entities whose existence appears as tangible to them as light or weight to us. These ideas are bound up with a characteristic way of perceiving, touching deep zones of the mind which reasoning does not reach (3).

171 177 787 3. Actually, it is observed in Black Africa that where cults

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171 177 787

> of possession exist, the populations are particularly impermeable to Christian influence. Apparently destroyed, these cults soon reappear in another form, sometimes in Christian guise (possession by the saints).

177 562 Let us add that one of the great strengths of the custom of the Refugee Blacks is the privileged position it gives to the woman. Women, shielded from the direct influence of Europeans and Creoles, and besides practically inaccessible to all reasoning, are hostile to changes which would infringe on their privileges. Now it is they, in fact, who have the education of the children in their hands.

114 177 Thus it does not appear possible to "assimilate" these populations by destroying their original culture. The attempts inspired by fanaticism for civilizing will have as their only result its impoverishment, pushing the Refugee Blacks to dissimulate their beliefs, to abandon their art, costume, songs, and dances, all that makes up their joy in living. But the social structure based on the fear of ancestors and gods could be destroyed only by violence. We may hope that nobody thinks of coming to that.

114 As for us who have lived a long time in the midst of the Refugee Blacks, we feel a deep esteem for them. By their historic past, the originality of the customs they have developed, the good relations they have been able to create with the other populations, they have proved their creative abilities; they deserve to be allowed to evolve in their own way. /blank page/

APPENDIX

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TABLE OF THE POPULATION OF THE BONI VILLAGES

as of January 1, 1958, arranged in alphabetical order

Classification. The classification of the population has been made by village of residence.

For each woman, we have indicated her successive unions and the children issuing from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ∔, divorce. The sign ∔ † means that the husband is dead, but after the break-up of the union.

The women's listings preceded by an asterisk * indicate that the listing may be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete from the point of view of successive marriages and divorces.

The name of each individual is printed in boldface once only, where he may be considered as residing habitually. The total of the names in boldface gives immediately the population figure for the village.

Children under 15 years are considered to be living with the persons responsible for their education. If details about this could not be obtained, they are considered to be living with their mothers.

Each listing bears a number, for example Dju D7, permitting one to find the place of the individual in the genealogical table. In the example indicated, reference must be made to the table of the Dju lo, line D, no. 7.

Let us recall that part of the names have been replaced, by request of those concerned, by fictitious names.

VILLAGE BONIVILLE

*162
*621

Abbrev.: SAR. — SARAMAKA
PAR. — PARAMAKA

** ○ **Aboundié 1925** Dip. I, F81
mo. Délti †
fa. Fanié †
1st hus. A... (SAR.)
○ K... 1945, raised by ○ Samuel, sis. of Délti †, in village l'Enfant Perdu
2d hus. M... (SAR.)
△ A... 1951, raised by the grand man Difu
○ M... 1954, raised by her mother
raising △ P... 1948, mo. Mate (Dip I, village l'Enfant Perdu)

** ○ **Achiké 1909** K3, E140
mo. Lémiki
fa. Tebiki †
1st hus. Pwen (L1, E33, village Loka) ÷
2d hus. Namiedé (K1, D7, village Kotika)
○ Maria 1933
○ Sosia 1938
△ E.. 1948, raised by his mother
raising ○ M... 1954, daughter of Sosto
declares no children lost

△ **Adquin 1935** L2, F73
mo. Térèsa
fa. S... (SAR.) † raised by his mother

○ **Alida 1935** K2, E147
mo. Lémiki
fa. Tebiki † raised by her mother
hus. Dudu (P1, F16, village Papaïchton)
○ K... 1952, raised by her mother
○ R... Sept. 58

** ○ **Afiingi 1888** K2, D120
mo. Afo † <-- Bon †
fa. Anthé † (L.)
1st Tandom (Aw. B.) †
△ † A... 1908-1933

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○ Wacay 1886
child † dead in a few days 1907
child † dead in a few days 1911
2d hus. Bayamati (Dip. I, E30, village l'Enfant Perdu)
○ † C... 1914-1934
△ Aandum 1919
△ Bonti 1921
△ Atmaga 1926
† child dead in a few days 1930
○ † S... 1928-1948

not remarried
raising △ R... 1946, mo. Koko, village Loka

△ Atmaga 1926 K2, E134
mo. Afiingi
fa. Bayamati (Dip. I) raised by his mother

△ Akpiaki 1934 K3, E144
mo. Lámiki
fa. Tabiki † raised by his mother

** ○ Alamani 1909 P1, F34
mo. Abaaye †
fa.
1st hus. D... (PAR.) +
△ Dolobi 1929
2d hus. A... (DJUKA) +
△ D... † 1935-1935
△ Nanga 1938
3d hus. Mbamaola (K1, D43, Bonidoro) + 1956
△ W... 1950

△ Alibi 1936 Djo, G15
mo. Eliana
fa. Matapi (Aw. B.)

△ Alibiki 1930 Dip. I, F8
mo. Way †
fa. Tabiki † (Aw. B.) raised by his mother

△ Alibaio 1940 P1, G37
mo. Páloi
fa. Mandi raised by his mother

△ Amabili 1928 L2, F71
mo. Térisa
fa. S... (SAR.) raised by his father

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** **Amasiabi 1935** Dip. I, F7
mo. Way †
fa. Kasai (P) † raised by her mother
hus. W... (SAR.) since 1951
△ P... 1953
○ E... 1955
○ E... Nov. 1957

△ **Amadodja 1932** L2, F83
mo. Amikundu (L.)
fa. A... (SAR.) † raised by Tésóza, his mo.'s sis., in Boniville

** ○ **Amélétona 1917** Puti lineage. (DJUKA origin)
mo. Pasta
fa. A... (DJUKA) † raised by her mother
1st hus. Aminabé (L2, F70, village Loka) ✢
△ Sekunde 1940 } raised by their mother
○ Mádo 1942 }
○ † at 4 mos. 1944
○ A... 1945, raised by Pasta
2d hus. Hébimna † (Dju)
3d hus. A... (SAR.) ✢ in 1955
△ H... June 1955
not remarried end of 1957

** ○ **Aginda 1923** Pl. G88
mo. Alibo † ← Abaaya †
fa.
1st hus. A... †
○ A... 1942, raised by her mother
△ A... 1945 — —
○ † at two years 1947-1949
2d hus. Amadodja (L 2, F 83, Boniville)
○ A... 1949, raised by Asaikundu, mo. of her fa., in village Loka
○ H... 1951, raised by her mother
△ H... 1954 — —
○ F... 1956 — —

△ **Amdam 1916** K-2, E 152
mo. Afiāngi
fa. Bayamali (Dip. 1) raised by his father

△ **Asibiapé 1935** Pl, G 88
mo. Alibo † ← Abaaya †
fa. raised by his mother

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○ Amandi 1930 — Dip. I, F2
mo. Mango †
fa. Baramadie (K, living at Assi-Dju)
sterile — Numerous divorces, irregular life

△ Andiljoe 1937 — L2, F73
mo. Tinina
fa. S... (SAR.) † — raised by his mother

○ Anidi 1928 — K1, E37
mo. Baboy
fa. Amaampé (Aw. B.)
irregular life, numerous divorces

last hus. Sistemons, (K3, E145, Beniville)

△ Banda 1930 — L5, E30
mo. Aitti †
fa.

** ○ Bada 1915 — Dip. I, F1
mo. Mango †
fa. S... (DJUKA) † — raised by her mother
1st hus. Alibbiade (lin. Afi) † 1949
2d hus. C... (SAR.) ✝
3d hus. D... (Surinamese)
sterile — prostitute, lived for a long time with the Creoles in Maripasoula

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△ Bakaiko, 1941 — K3, E140
mo. Lémiki
fa. Tabiki † — raised by Tabiki, then upon the latter's death by Lémiki

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△ Baaga 1950 — K2, E189
mo. Banna †
fa. — raised by Mimi, his sis. by the same mo.

△ Bisanan 1919 — P1, G61
mo. Wääni ← Danaal †
fa. Aas (SAR.) — raised by his mother
raising △ Y... 1948, mo. ? (village Loka)

△ Bakuli 1925 — P1, G30
mo. Alesani
fa. D... (PAR.) — raised by Danaal † (P1, F20), old woman of his mo.'s lineage

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△ [illegible] 1950 K3, K139
mo. Afingi
fa. Bayamati (Dip. I)
raised by his sister Waway

△ [illegible] 1900 P?, F22
mo. Abenya †
fa. Nali †
last head of a fraction of the Papaliscu (Kawina) lineage, established in the village of Pan Mofo, a little downstream from Benivillie; abandoned since 1965 (?) because of sicknesses and a fall in the birthrate

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○ Gisélle 1930 Dip. I, E9
mo. Moulia †
fa.
1st hus. H... (DJUKA)
† child dead in a few days 1957?
several divorces, irregular life
hus. L... (DJUKA) since 1958

** ○ Chimo 1929 Poti lineage, Djuka origin
mo. Panda
fa. Abeni †
raised by her mother
1st hus. Boniti ◇ 1951
2d hus. [illegible] (Aw. B.) ◇ 1955
3d hus. Pilipili (Aw. B. I, F3)
sterile

△ Bifa 1909 Dikan
mo. Adyuba †
fa.
grand man of the Boni
raising △ A... 1951, mo. Mato, & △ L... 1947, mo. Ansina

△ Dalaya 1929 Dip. I, F22
mo. Delili †
fa. Fomié † (L. Dikan)
raised by his father

△ Doni 1930 Dja, G13
mo. Eliane ← Dinali
fa. Malapé
raised by his grandmother Dinali †

△ Dyuhala 1930 Dip. I, E4
mo. Moulia †
fa.

** ○ Elima 1914 Dja, F8
mo. Dinali †
fa. Malolé
raised by her mother

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1st hus. Matagi (lin. A8, c2) ✠
△ Alfila 1936
△ Doni 1939
○ Agudo 1941

2d hus. N... (village Papaïchton)
△ A... 1948. raised by his father
○ S... 1947, raised by Kulina, sister of Eliana
○ S...
△ A... 1949
△ † S... 1951-1958
△ B... 1954
△ B... 1956
raised by Eliana

○ Eliana 1941 K3, E149
mo. Lémiki
fa. Somboli †
raised by her mother

△ Fantiama 1908 Dju, F6
mo. Bénéti †
fa. Malobi
raised by his father's mother

△ Gantama 1920 P1, G64
mo. Wéiiti (lives in Hermina)
fa. Ana (SArc.)
raised by his mother

△ Kaliana 1925 Foti lineage (DJUKA origin)
mo. Pesta
fa. A... (DJUKA) †
raised by his mother

△ Kéjanali 1911 Dju, F7
mo. Bénéti †
fa. Malobi
raised by his mother

** ○ Kulina 1917 Dju, F9
mo. Bénéti †
fa. Malobi
raised by her mother

1st hus. Tesma (L1, F22, village Loka) ✠

2d hus. Antalin (Lepé)

sterile
raising her niece S..., mo. Eliana, and her niece K..., mo. Bélkom

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△ Lókimsa 1900 (K) K3, D122
mo. Adoudu †
fa.
raising △ K... 1952, mo. Kama (village Lepé T.)

○ Lémiki 1890 ? K3, D130
mo. Adoudu † ← Bon †
fa.
1st hus. Tabibi (Aw. B. 1, E45, village Loka) †

[illegible]—485 K-5 (1948-1960) 1961 [illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
Boni

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○ [illegible] 1909
△ Lota 1914.
○ Beda †
△ Akyimbi 1924

2d hus. Nwan (Dip. 1, E1, Boniville) ♦
△ [illegible] 1929

3d hus. Tabiki (again) † in 1958
○ Maka 1931
○ Adéla 1935
△ Bakaba
○ Elina 1941 } raised by their mother

Not nurser. Raising △ A... 1945 mo. Beda †

Card incomplete. Refused to answer concerning her deceased children

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** ○ [illegible] 1939 K2, F89
mo. Kata
fa. Bodi

hus. Manko (Dip. 1, F76, village l'Enfant Perdu)

sterile

** ○ [illegible] 1939 N2, E99
mo. Kamina
fa. M... (DJUKA)

1st hus. Aliman (Aw. R. 1, E49, village Asisi) ♦ in 1963
○ † 1958-1960, died at 2 yrs.

2nd hus. Z... (SAR.)

was raised by Keza, Kamina's sister in the classificatory sense, then after the death of Keza, by the latter's son, Tedo

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** ○ [illegible] 1936 L2, F74
mo. Térèse
fa. S... (SAR.) †

raised by her mother

clandestine liaison with Amdam (K2, E24, Boniville) ♦ 1955
△ E... 1956 raised by Térèse

1st hus. Philipiti (Aw. R. 1, F3, village Asisi) ♦ in 1957
2d hus. Daisy (K2, F87, village Kotika)

△ Lota 1914 K3, E142
mo. Lémiki
fa. Tabiki

raised by his father

△ [illegible] 1937 K2, E20
mo. Ambalo †
fa. ? (SAR.)

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* ○ Maka 1931 K3, E146
mo. Lémiki
fa. Tabiki (Aw. R.) †

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hus. [illegible] (K3, F71, Boniville)
○ L... 1949
○ L... 1950
△ dead in a few days 1952
○ A... 1954
○ A... July 1957

△ [illegible] 1929 K3, F130
mo. [illegible] ← [illegible]
fa. [illegible] (L)

** ○ [illegible] 1918
dau. of grand man [illegible] † and an Indian woman raised by her father
hus. [illegible] (F1, E11, village Papaichton) since 1936 ÷ & 1957
no children

** ○ [illegible] 1906 Djo, F11
mo. [illegible] †
fa. [illegible] raised by ○ [illegible] (Djo, E22) in village of [illegible]
1st hus. [illegible] (K3, E97, village Kotika) ÷ in 1953
○ E... 1930, raised by her mother
○ A... 1939 id.
2d hus. [illegible] (F) ÷ 1956
△ A... 1949

** ○ [illegible] 1920 K3, E140
mo. [illegible]
fa. [illegible] (K) raised by her mother
hus. [illegible] (Djo. I, F60, Boniville)
○ A... 1951

△ [illegible] 1911 K1, D43
mo. [illegible] †
fa. ? (DJUKA) raised by his mother

○ [illegible] 1942 Poti lineage (DJUKA origin)
mo. [illegible]
fa. [illegible] raised by her mother
marr. to [illegible] (K3, F128, Boniville) 1957

** ○ [illegible] 1912 K3, E136
mo. [illegible] †
fa.
hus. [illegible] (Djo, F6, Boniville) since 1931
○ W... 1945, raised by ○ [illegible] in village [illegible]
† stillborn child 1948
raising ○ S... 1945, mo. A... (Kotika)

de Hurault—487   K-5   (1948-1958) 1961   [illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
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△ **Noupé 1927**   Poti lineage (DJUKA origin)
mo. Pauto
fa. A... (DJUKA) †   raised by his mother

△ **[illegible] 1896**   P1, G33
mo. Aleosai
fa. (DJUKA)

△ **Bodi 1898**   Dip. 1, F93
mo. Bdiki †
fa. PanlA †   raised by his father

○ **Pauto 1896**   Poti lineage (DJUKA origin)
mo. DJUKA.   to Dilon
fa. Oubi †

1st hus. A... (DJUKA) †
○ Amdikiwan 1918
△ Kaliova 1924
1 child dead at 3 yrs.?
○ Chimo 1929
△ Noupé 1927

2d hus. Semié (L1, E33, village Loka) ◆   Pauto is the dau. of a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Oubi †, lived in Bonivillo

3d hus. Abeni †

4th hus. Zawi ◆

raising ○ A... 1946, mo. Amdikiwan.

card incomplete

○ **Pétal 1903**   P1, F34
mo. Aboayo †
fa.
1st hus. Momi (K) ◆
△ Alifolo 1940, raised by his mother
○ dau.† at 5 yrs.
△ K... 1946, raised by his mother
2d hus. B... (DKUJA) ◆ in 1952
3d hus. H... (K) ◆
not remarried
card incomplete

△ **Sidiaman 1908**   Aw. B. 1, F52
mo. Nama
fa. A... (SAR.)   raised by Tabiki †, Napus's bro. by the same mo., then by Lemiki, widow of Tabiki.

△ **Sintaman 1929**   K3, E145
mo. Lemiki
fa. Kwao (Dip. I)

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** ○ Boeia 1930 K3, F142
mo. Achiké
fa. Nambédé (K) raised by her mother
hus. Boeia (L1, E42, village Loka)
○ N... 1954, raised by Achiké
○ L... 1957

△ Bébudo 1941 Poti lineage
mo. Aouddéoua
fa. Amémbé

△ Tom 1940 P1
mo. Alipey (P1, F47, village Papatiaou)
fa. Pistiman (Dju) raised by his father Pistiman

△ Tumbé 1918 K3, E180
mo. Boene †
fa.

** ○ Tiobo 1894 L3, E37
mo. Aidi †
fa.
1st hus. A... (DJUKA) ÷
△ Amémbé 1911
† in a few days 1915
† in a few days 1918
2d hus. S... (SAR.) † in 1933
○ † at 4 yrs. 1921-1925
△ Amakii 1928
△ Adyuka 1934
△ Awétipey 1935
2 stillborn children 1936
○ Lemé 1938
1 child dead in a few days 1941
3d hus. △ Aliiwa (Aw. B. 1, E4, village Asiel) since 1954
raising △ B... 1950, mo. Lemé

△ Tulo 1914 K3, F88
(K)
mo. Kata †
fa. Bodi (L) † raised by his mother
raising △ A... 1950, mo. ? (village Apatu) & △ G... 1944

△ Tolioto 1915 K3, F88
mo. Boene †
fa. Sombé raised by his father

[illegible]—425 K-5 (1946-1958) 1961 [illegible] Bush Negroes [illegible]
[illegible]

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△ Tembo 1941 K3, F128
mo. Wussy ← Adingi
fa. Akwadé (L)

** ○ Wussy 1935 K3, E139
mo. Adingi
fa. [illegible] †

1st hus. Akwadé (L)
† child dead in 1 day (1935 (?)
† child dead in 1 day 1950 (?)
△ [illegible] 1936
△ S... 1948, raised at Kotika
△ Tembo 1941
○ S... 1946, raised by her mother

2d hus. ? (SAR.) † because of sickness

3d hus. Ernest (Aw. D. 1, [illegible], village Aséd)

Raising △ A... 1949, mo. Sinè (village Kotika)

VILLAGE L'ENFANT PERDU

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△ Abagou 1930 Dip. I, E35

mo. Ingi (village Apatou)
fa. Andouyo (SAR.) raised by Toli (Dip. I, D44)

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* ○ Akima 1934 Dip. I, D30

mo. Koto †

fa. Anato †

hus. Kodio (Dip. II) †
○ Saumé 1952
○ † stillborn
○ Bétti 1957-1960
△ Bayamati 1955

** ○ Affi 1917 Dip. I, F53

mo. Péchine
fa. Nachimongé (K) raised by her mother

1st hus. Gerson (Aw. B. 1, F7, village Adsi) ⌖
△ Ahééli 1940
△ † dead in 3 days

2d hus. Balcumon (P1, F38, Boniville)
no children

△ Ahééli 1940 Dip. I, G51

mo. Affi
fa. Gerson (Aw. B.) raised by his mother

○ Affi 1930 Dip. I, F10

mo. Djalufe
fa. Kido (K) † raised by her mother

hus. Djoni (Kotika)
○ † 1 yr.
○ T... 1951
○ F... 1954
△ F... Oct. 58

card incomplete

** ○ Anne 1929 Dip. I, G50

mo. Nanigo
fa. Adisso (Dju) raised by her mother

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hus. Topo (L1, E49, village Loka)
△ F... 1946
○ A... 1949 (Yuyu)
○ M... 1953
○ E... 1957

** ○ Amamun 1938 Dip. I, F85
mo. Anana
fa. Abanku (K) raised by her mother
hus. Awélipay (L2, F72, village Bonivillé)
△ A... 1957

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* ○ Anana 1895 Dip. I, E48
mo. Umé †
fa. Lanoo †
1st hus. Djoy (Aw. B. 1, D52, village Asisi) +
△ † 4 yrs. 1915-1919
○ † 2 yrs. 1917-1919
○ † dead 1st week 1918
○ † — — 1919
○ † — — 1920
△ † Mangé 1922
○ † Tewéabi 1924
2d hus. Abanku (K2, E90) †
○ Amamun 1938
○ D... 1944, raised by her mother
3d hus. Kédé (Dip. II, F28, village Kormotibo)

** ○ Asana 1918 Dip. I, F84
mo. Péchina
fa. Nachimongé (Kotika) raised by her mother
1st hus. Bâse (Aw. B. 1, F17, village Asisi) +
○ Sôya 1941
△ † at 2 weeks
2d hus. Tyaba (L1, D16, village Lapé Tabiki) +
3d hus. Ayumbédé (L1, E37, village Loka)

** ○ Asili 1929 Dip. I, F60
mo. Efina (Granland)
fa. Adingo (DJUKA) raised by her mother
1st hus. Balasai (L1, F37, village Loka) +
○ A... 1945
△ † 1st week 1947
○ † 1st week 1951
○ A... 1956, raised by Efina
2d hus. (?) +
3d hus. Watohé (K2, E115, village Kotika)

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* ○ Asawédalisa 1936 K2, E130
mo. Sépélina (village Kotika)
fa. Fambilin (Dip. I) raised by her father

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successive
husbands? last hus. .Pikinbasia (L)
° child † before 1 yr.
○ A... 1953, raised by Alapu at Loka
○ Y... 1957

△ [illegible] 1880 Dip. I, E40
mo. Dika †
fa. Abéga (L) †
head of l'Enfant Perdu village

△ [illegible] 1940 Dip. I, F79
mo. Seumi
fa. Soumé
raised by his mother

△ Bayamadi 1880 Dip. I, E55
mo. Abena
fa. Kedio †

△ Bisai 1924 Dip. I, F79
mo. Seumi
fa. L... (DJUKA)
raised by his mother

△ [illegible] 1886 Dip. I, E19
mo. Kaaia †
fa.

△ [illegible] 1890 Dip. I, E47
mo: Umé †
fa. Lasso †

○ Djakafa 1907 Dip. I, E2
mo. Marie-Louise †
fa. ?
1st hus. Kido (K) ⌖ †
{ ○ Félie 1920
{ ○ Aléu 1930
2d hus. Gidé ⌖
3d hus. A... (DJUKA) †
4th hus. Kondoku (Aw. B. 1, E25)
card incomplete. Refused to answer.

** ○ Elisa 1882 Dip. I, E44
mo. Dika †
fa. Abéga (L) †
1st hus. Tosua (K) †
○ † 1st day 1920?
△ † 1 week 1924
△ † 5 yrs. 1928
2d hus. Adiago (DJUKA, fa. Boni, village Apatou) ⌖
○ Aodili 1929

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3d hus. Aleia (K2, E84, village Kotika) ✣
not remarried in Jan. 58
raising ○ A... 1956, mo. Aedii

△ **[illegible]** 1931 Dip. I, E38
mo. [illegible] †
fa. Lébikodio (Dip. II) † raised by his father
wife Sépéline (village Kotika)
raising △ E... 1944, mo. Sépéline (K)

○ **[illegible]** 1930 Dip. I, F9
mo. Djabafa
fa. Kido (K) † raised by her mother
1st hus. Y... (DJUKA) ✣
△ † in 8 days
△ B... 1950, raised by his father's mother
2d hus. Houpé (Pori lineage, Boniville)
card incomplete

○ **Kodja** 1929 Dip. I, F58
mo. Pécbima
fa. Nachinangé (K) raised by ○ Dodoy †
1st hus. Amédabé (L2, F72, village Loka) ✣
△ G... † 1946-1954
○ G... 1948, raised by her mother
2d hus. Kilo (K2, E182, village Kotika)
raising ○ F... 1954, daughter of Sasyé
card incomplete

△ **Maipa** 1911 Dip. I, F52
mo. Pébéhine ← Dika †
fa. Nachinangé raised by ○ Dika †, his grandmother
raising △ S... 1949, mo. Sasyé

△ **[illegible]** 1931 Dip. I, F75
mo. Saumé
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

** ○ **Mata** 1924 Dip. I, F80
mo. Béiti †
fa. Panté † (Dikan) raised by her father
1st hus. Fané (L1, F32, village Loka ✣
△ F... 1940, raised by Abocmâli, sis. of Mata

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2d hus. Ashiké (Dju, F18, village Asisi) +
† stillborn child
○ † 1 week
○ † 1 month
○. N... 1955, raised by her mother
not remarried

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* ○ **Musinge 1908** Dip. I, F51
mo. Péchine
fa. Nachinangé raised by her mother
1st hus. Adiiso (Dju, F37, village Asisi) +
○ Ansu 1939
2d hus. Akuba (P) †
△ stillborn
3d hus. Kwachi (Dip. II, E9) †
4th hus. Akwadé (L1, E34, village Loka)

△ **Saagé 1921** Dip. I, F63
mo. Amana
fa. Djoy (Aw. B.) raised by ○ Dika † (Dip. I, D19)

○ **Péchine 1886** Dip. I, E42
mo. Dika † 1951
fa. Abégo (L.)
1st hus. Nachinangé (K1, D15)
△ stillborn 1906
△ dead in 8 days
○ Musinge 1908
△ Meipe 1911
○ Afiti 1915
○ Apama 1918
○ Kodja 1920
○ Saayé 1926
2d hus. Agusa † (Dip. II, E31, head of village of Kormotibo)
not remarried
raising ○ A... 1946, mo. Saayé

△ **Pakan 1939** Dip. I, F77
mo. Sasané
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by Toli (Dip. I, D44)

** ○ **Saayé 1926** Dip. I, F84
mo. Péchine
fa. Nachinangé (K)
1st hus. Kwami (Dip. II, F4, village Kormotibo) + in 195[illegible])
○ A... 1946, raised by ○ Péchine
△ S... 1947, raised by his father
△ S... 1949, raised by △ Meipe, brother of Saayé
{ ○ F... 1954, raised by Kodja
{ ○ twin dead the same day
2d hus. Mutété (Dju, F17, village Asisi) (since 1957)

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** ○ **Saumé 1882** Dip. I, E53
mo. Abéne
fa. Kodéo (Dip. II) †
1st hus. L... (DJUKA) + †
△ † } twins deceased about 3 yrs. old. 1909-1912
△ † }
△ Tabayé 1911
△ B... 1916-1919
△ Manku 1921
△ Piani 1924
△ Pelee 1930
△ Simon 1934
2d hus. Somié (L1, E22, village Loka) +
△ Bakafutu 1940
3d hus. Atikatikali (Dju, E19, village Asisi) †
raising ○ L... 1945, mo.Abeomaki, &○ E... 1955, mo. Mata.

○ **Sangé 1940** Dip. I, G85
mo. Towéchi
fa. Pwen (L.)

○ **Sépa 1941** Dip. I, G84
mo. Apema
fa. Béou (Aw. B.)

△ **Simon 1934** Dip. I, F78
mo. Saumé
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

△ **Tabayé 1911** Dip. I, F73
mo. Saumé
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by his mother
raising: △ Yosi 1930, same father and DJUKA mother

△ **Toli 1876** Dip. I, D44
mo. Kotu (*Pulodu*) †
fa. Ansto †

** ○ **Towéchi 1924** Dip. I, F84
mo. Anusa
fa. Djoy (Aw. B.) raised by her mother
hus. Pwen (L1, E33, village Loka).
○ Sangé 1940
○ † at 3 yrs.
○ E... 1946
○ T... 1950
△ A... 1954

△ **Thomas 1915** Dip. I, E22
mo. Ingi (village Apaiou)
fa.

VILLAGES LOKA and LAPE TABIKI

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*162
*621

** ○ Abéné 1896 L1, D8 Loka
mo. Duba †
fa.
1st hus. Adiéba ÷
△ † dead in a few days 1912
○ † dead in a few days 1913
○ † A... † at 5 yrs., 1916-1921
○ Alapa 1926
△ Docéé 1927
2d hus. Adiéca (Dja, F87) ÷

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* ○ Akismma 1928 L1, F29 Loka
mo. Akuba
fa. Kosma (Dip. I)
1st hus. Bébo (K) ÷
△ B... 1946, raised by Akuba, his grandmother
2d hus. Akyémki (K3, E144, Benivillé)
no children
raising E... 1954, dau. of Kenie (Dip. II-Assisi)

○ Adeineba 1922 L1, E17 Lépé Tabiki
mo. Assemani ← Assida †
fa. Bela (DJUKA) raised by Assida †
1st hus. Kendeku (Aw. B. 1, E22, village Assisi) ÷
△ M... 1948, raised by Bata
○ †
2d hus. Tofioto (K3, E257, Benivillé)
○ P... 1949 raised by her mother
card incomplete

△ Alsondo 1936 Aw. B. 1, F56
mo. Neana Loka
fa. Kasiman raised by his father

△ Alsongé 1939 L1, F11 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Twe † ← Assemani
fa. Dange † (Dip. I) raised by his mother

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*621

○ Afuyéli 1925 L1, F38 Loka
mo. Akuba
fa. Kasun (Dip. I)

1st hus. Dogido †
2d hus. Anoli (PAR.) †
3d hus. Paupa (K1, E52, village Kotika) ϕ
4th hus. Béti (Aw. B. I, F 37, village Asisi)

raising △ D... 1943, mo. Méchi (Aw. B. I, E27), & ○ A... 1954, mo. Dudu (L1, F40)

card incomplete

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* ○ Akumédi 1924 L1, F34
mo. Pasko ← Awenkina
fa. P... (DJUKA) † raised by her mother

1st hus. Sanauman (P) †
2d hus. Todo (K2, F68, Boniville)
△ P... 1954

raising △ A... 1947, mo. Téhé

** ○ Akuba 1895 L1, E30 Loka
mo. Awénkina
fa. Gyampe †

1st hus. Kasun (Dip. I, E3, village Kotika)
○ Yakoba 1915
△ Balenai 1918
○ Afuyéli 1925
○ Abiaman 1928
○ Dudu 1930

2d hus. Kédé (Dip. II, F20, village Kormotibo)

3d hus. Mato (Aw. B. 1, E46, village Asisi)
raising △ B... 1945, mo. Abiaman

△ Akwadé 1885 L1, E23
mo. Abédumi †
fa. Samalobi (Dikan)
raising A 1950, mo. Dansayé (Dip. II, Kormotibo)

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* ○ Alapu 1924 L1, E9 Loka
mo. Abété
fa. A... (PAR.)

hus. Yofé (K2, E106, village Kotika)

sterile

raising ○ A... 1953, mo. Asuwéntina (village L'Enfant Perdu)

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*621

○ Alemia 1937 L2, G85 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Angina
fa. Keke † raised by her mother
hus. Banne (K3, E150, village Boniville)
○ E... 1955
card incomplete

△ Ambaké 1911 L2, F70
mo. Térésa (village Boniville)
fa. A... (DJUKA)
raising △ A... 1954, mo. Kilina (Asisi-Aw. B.)

○ Anasia 1937 L1, F30 Loka
mo. Saléni
fa. Kwaabi (Dip. 11) +
1st hus. Dému (P2, G80, village Kormotibo) since 1954
△ E... 1955(?)
○ K... 1956 raised by Saléni
card incomplete

△ Ansio 1939 L2, G81 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Kapéski ← Assikundu
fa. Tooki † (Dip. 11) raised by his mother

○ Angina 1914 L2, F81 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Assikundu
fa. A... (BAR.)
1st hus. Keke †
○ Alemia 1937
2d hus. Eremt (Aw. B. 1, E25, village Asisi)
raising ○ E... 1951, dau. of Papa †
card incomplete

△ Antalia 1929 L1, E19 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Assmani
fa. Bata (DJUKA) raised by his mother

** ○ Apélim 1908 L1, E7 Loka
mo. Yali †
fa.
1st hus. Noldu (K) †
2d hus. G... (SAR.) +
△ † 1 week 1926
○ † 2 yrs. 1929-1931
△ 1937
○ Kidi 1939
3d hus. Taánié (P1, K12, village Papatiston)

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*621

** ○ **Asakunda 1891** L2, E38 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Aüli †
fa.
1st hus. A... (SAR.) † ◆
○ Kepédhi 1908
† dead in a few days 1910
○ † 1912-1924
○ Angina 1914
○ B... † 1916-1930
△ Sindo 1919
△ Amatodja 1922
△ Maliki 1928
2d hus. Antonu (Aw. D. 1, E47, village Asisi)
raising ○ A... 1948, mo. Apinda (P., Benivilla)

○ **Asumani 1880** L1, D15 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Asoida †
fa.
hus. Butu (DJUKA)
○ Twa † 1916-1957
○ Kama 1920
△ Masten 1938
○ Adoimba 1922
△ Antalya (Asa) 1929
○ Mantau 1937
card incomplete
raising △ B... 1946, mo. Kama, & ○ C... 1953, mo. Mantau

** ○ **Awiakina 1870** L1, D23 Leka
mo. Makuye †
fa.
1st hus. Gyampo †
○ Fasko 1890
○ Figa † 1893-1900
○ Akuba 1895
△ Kosiman 1900
○ Mélita 1904
△ Pwen 1907
○ Ménsé 1911
2d hus. Fändli †
3d hus. Kwau (Dip. 1, E3, village Apatu) ◆

△ **Ayanbédé 1911** L1, E37 Leka
mo. Chil
fa. K... (DJUKA)
raising △ Y... 1951, mo. Ata (village Asisi-Dju)

△ **Baala 1933** L1, F29 Leka
mo. Suléni
fa. Kwuchi (Dip. 11) † raised by his mother

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*621

△ **Basia 1934** L1, E43 Loka
mo. Chê
fa. Adam (P) † raised by his mother

** ○ **Balkom 1924** Dja, F19 Loka
mo. Dinili †
fa. Molobi (Dip. I, Loka) raised by her fa. in Loka vill.
md. about 1944 to Hosama (K2, E34, village Kotika)
○ K... 1945 raised by Kulina, sis. of Balkom, at Boniville
○ A... 1950
△ † 1951-1955
△ A... 1955
○ E... Sept. 1957
raising ○ W... 1946 mo. Mimi (K, Boniville)

△ **Balamai 1918** L1, F37 Loka
mo. Akubo
fa. Kodio †

** ○ **Bilo 1894** L1, D8 Loka
mo. Béni (Opou) †
fa.
hus. Afféké (K1, D34, village Kotika)
○ Tolili 1916
△ Pikinbasia 1924
△ Télon 1933
raising △ W... 1954, mo. Mili (village Papaïchton)

△ **Buto 1893 (?)** Lapé Tabiki
DJUKA, hus. of Asamani, long established at Lapé-Tabiki.
raising ○ F... 1949, mo. Kama, & △ H... 1947, mo. Adaimbo

** ○ **Chê 1886** L1, D24 Loka
mo. Makuya †
fa.
1st hus. K... (DJUKA) ✢
† dead in a few days 1908
△ Ayaubédé 1911
2d hus. Adam (P) †
△ Tiboyon 1914
△ † at 2 yrs. 1916-1918
○ Yeama 1918
△ Tupe 1920
○ Madu 1920
○ Koko 1930
△ Basia 1934
not remarried
raising △ F... 1948, mo. Anou (village L'Enfant Perdu)

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*621

△ **Bédai 1937** L1, F45 Loka
mo. Métita
fa. Dyakata (Dip. I) raised by his father

** ○ **Duti 1934** L1, F36 Loka
mo. Pasko
fa. Sawen (P)

1st hus. Binai (Dip. I, F76, village l'Enfant Perdu)
△ K... 1952 raised by his mother
(no child lost)

** ○ **De 1929** L1, F38 Loka
mo. Saiéni
fa. Kwashi (Dip. II) † raised by her mother

1st hus. Maipa (Dip. I, F58, village L'Enfant Perdu) ✚
2d hus. Kwami (Dip. II, F4, village Kormotibo) ✚ in 1957
○ † the 1st day 1956
3d hus. Abédo (K1, D22, village Kotika)

△ **Dasté 1937** L1, E10
mo. Abété
fa. Adéba raised by his mother

** ○ **Dula 1930** L1, F40 Loka
mo. Akuba
fa. Kasun (Dip. I) raised by Takoba, her mo.'s sis.

hus. Séthuman (Aw. B. 1, F53, Boniville)
○ † 1947-1952, dead at 5 yrs.
△ † 1950-1953, dead at 3 yrs.
○ A... 1954, raised by ○ Afuyéti, her mother's sis.
△ L... 1956

○ **Elina 1939** L1, F18 Lopé Tabiki
mo. Kuma ← Assamai
fa. Lébiman (K) raised by her mother

hus. Akushi (K2, F66, village Kotika)
no children

△ **Felalo 1937** L1, F5 Loka
mo. Agiéku
fa. Naide (K)

△ **Fudé 1917** L1, F23 Loka
mo. Pasko
fa. P... (DJUKA) raised by his mother
raising △ G... 1950, mo. Oben (village Papatalon)

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*621

○ Sadu 1941 L1, F12 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Twa † ← Asamani
fa. Dongo † raised by Kama, her mo.'s sis.

△ Kabita 1929 L1, F46 Loka
mo. Málita
fa. Dyahata (Dip. I)

** ○ Kama 1920 L1, E16 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Asamani
fa. Buta

hus. Lébiman (K2, D29, Boniville)
○ Elina 1939
† before 1 yr. 1940
○ M... † 1943-1945
○ S... 1944 raised by her mother
○ B... 1946 — by Asamani, her grandmother
○ F... 1949 — by Buta, husband of Asamani
△ K... 1952 — by his fa., Lebiman, in Boniville
△ † in 8 days 1954
△ A... Sept. 1956

** ○ Kapéliki 1908 L2, F20 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Asakunda
fa. A... (SAR.) †

1st hus. E... (DJUKA) ✥
○ Yunda † 1927-1937

2d hus. Tasiki (Dip. II) †
1 child dead in a few days 1926
△ Amato 1929
○ Page † 1930-1951

3d hus. Madéko (K2, E29, Boniville)

raising ○ T... 1946, mo. Yunda †

○ Kapé 1917 L1, F26 Loka
mo. Saléni
fa. Kwachi (Dip. II) † raised by Saléni

1st hus. N... (DJUKA) ✥
△ 1935 † at 3 weeks
card incomplete

** ○ Kéli 1939 L1, F8 Loka
mo. Apiétu
fa. G... (SAR.) raised by Abété, sis. of her maternal grandmother

hus. Djani (K) ✥ Jan. 57
△ A... Dec. 56

/[illegible]/

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*621

** ○ [illegible] 1930 L1, E[illegible] Loka
mo. Chi
fa. Adam (P) † raised by her mother
hus. Aandam (K2, E34, Bonivillle)
△ B... 1948, raised by ○ [illegible], mo. of his fa., in Bonivillle
△ T... 1950
△ † Kuio † 1952 at 6 mos.
○ A... 1954
○ E... Sept. 58

△ [illegible] 1900 L1, E31 Loka
mo. Awbakima
fa. Gyampo †

△ [illegible] 1906 L1, E10 Lapé Tsaidi
mo. Assmani ← Aasidin †
fa. Beka raised by his father

○ [illegible] 1925 L1, E41 Loka
mo. Chi
fa. Adam (P) † raised by her mother
1st hus. D... (PAR.) ✝ †
△△ †† 2 stillborn twins 1946
△ S... 1947
△ A... 1949, raised by Tatno
2d hus. N... (SAR.) ✝
△ † 1950-1954
3d hus. Matogi (Lin. A8, a2, village Asini)
○ K... † 1952 at 6 mos.
○ E... 1955
△ E... 1957 (beginning)
raising ○ E... 1947, mo. ○ Chimbo (K)

△ [illegible] 1935 Dip. I, E30 Loka
mo. Agun † ← Fatsdu
fa. Pentoumi † (Lapé) raised by his father in Loka vill., lived there afterwards

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** ○ [illegible] 1937 L1, E30 Lapé Tsaidi
mo. Assmani
fa. Beka raised by her mother
1st hus. Koton (Dip. II) †
○ Céline 1952, raised by Assmani
2d hus. Achidiaé (Djo, F13, village Asini) since 1954
○ 1956 † at 3 mos.
○ E... 1957

○ [illegible] 1919 L1, F27 Loka
mo. Suldmi
fa. Kwasibé (Dip. II) † raised by her mother

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*621

hus. Yémene (Dip. I, E28, village l'Enfant Perdu)
no children
card incomplete

○ Hiaké 1923 (?) Aw. B. 1, E27 Loka
mo. Akamine †
fa. Kodie † 1938 raised by her fa., lived in Loka
1st hus. F... (DJUKA) ✦
△ D... 1943 raised by ○ Akeyéti
△ A... 1946
△ A... 1950
2d hus. Tumbé (K3, E158, Bonivilla)
○ A... 1953
○ A... 1955
○ B... 1956
card incomplete

** ○ Hilda 1904 L1, E22 Loka
mo. Awénkine
fa.
1st hus. Dyaknte (Dip. 1, E4, Bonivillo) ✦ 1934
○ Téké 1934
△ Dôné 1937
△ Kabila 1939
2d hus. Kwata (K3, E166, village Katiba)
has not lost any children

raising △ C... 1945, △ H... 1950, △ F... 1956, mo. Téké, & △ G... 1948, mo. Chitaine, village Adal

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○ Hémé 1911 L1, E24 Loka
mo. Awénkine
fa. Gyampo †
1st hus. Saini (K1, D69, village Ketéka) ✦
2d hus. A... (DJUKA)
○ A... 1948 raised by her father
card incomplete

** ○ Baba 1937 Aw. B. 1, F57 Loka
mo. Nama (Aw. B.)
fa. Kouiman raised by Akuba, her fa.'s sis.
hus. D... (F) † 1955
no children
not remarried end 1957

** ○ Pasko 1890 L1, E20 Loka
mo. Awenkine
fa. Gyampo †
1st hus. P... (DJUKA) †
△ Tama 1911
○ † at 5 yrs. 1913-1918

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△ Funá 1916
○ Ahoumédi 1914
△ † P... 1931-1946
2d hus. Sewen (Pl. E7, village Papaïchton) †
○ Doti 1934
3d hus. Aleïn (K2, E84, village Kotika)
raising ○ H... 1950, mo. Dubum (Papaïchton)

△ Pallini 1926 L1, F30 Lapé Tabiki
mo. Twa † ← Assmani
fa. Dange †
raised by his mother

△ Pikininsala 1924 L1, E3 Loka
mo. Bito ← Bémi †
fa. Abado (K)
raised by his mother

△ Popo 1909 L1, E33 Loka
mo. Abédumi †
fa.
head of the Lapé lineage

△ Pasu 1929 L1, E38 Loka
mo. Awankina
fa. Gyampo †

○ Régina 1938 Dip. 1, F3 Loka
mo. Mineu †
fa. Popo
raised by Popo in the vill. of Loka
hus. Tyolo (Dip. II, F48, village Asisi-Dju)
no children

○ Saléni 1893 L1, E36 Loka
mo. Abédumi †
fa.
1st hus. Kwachi (Dip. II) †
△ Tingo 1915
○ Kayé 1917
○ Mayon 1919
○ Do 1921
△ Saule 1923
○ Dolané † 1927-1956
○ Amonie 1927
△ Sangadagiai 1941
2d hus. Malobi (Dip. II, E50, village Loka)
no children
card incomplete

△ Sangadagiai 1941 L1, F31 Loka
mo. Saléni
fa. Kwachi (Dip. II) †

/[illegible]/

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*621

Δ [illegible] 1910 L2, F30 [illegible] (?)
mo. [illegible] ← [illegible]
fa. A... (SAR.) † raised by his mother
raising Δ H... 1950, mo. [illegible] (village Asini-Aw. B.)

Δ [illegible] 1906 L1, D13 [illegible]
mo. [illegible] †
fa.

Δ [illegible] 1906 L1, [illegible] [illegible]
mo. [illegible] †
fa.

** ○ [illegible] 1900 Aw. B. 1, F30 [illegible]
mo. [illegible]
fa. Abo ([illegible]) † raised by [illegible], her sis., in [illegible]
hus. Tingo (L1, F35, village [illegible])
Δ E... [illegible]
○ H... 1954
○ B... [illegible]

Δ [illegible] 1911 L1, F32 [illegible]
mo. [illegible] ← [illegible]
fa. P... (DJUKA) †

** ○ Téhé 1924 L1, F44 [illegible]
mo. [illegible]
fa. [illegible]
1st hus. [illegible] (Dju, E13, village Asini Dju) ♦ †
Δ C... 1946, raised by Mélitz
Δ A... 1947, raised by Akamédi
2d hus. B... (DJUKA) ♦
Δ E... 1950, raised by Mélitz
3d hus. [illegible] (Dip. II, G37, village Asini-Dip. II)
Δ C... [illegible], raised by his father
○ E... [illegible], raised by her paternal grandfather
○ † stillborn 1954
○ F... [illegible], raised by Mélitz
Observation : Téhé is not raising any of her children

Δ [illegible] 1935 L1, E3 [illegible]
mo. [illegible] ← [illegible] †
fa. [illegible] (K) raised by his father

Δ Tingo 1935 L1, F35 [illegible]
mo. [illegible]
fa. Kwashi (Dip. II) †

** ○ [illegible] 1938 L1, E3 [illegible]
mo. [illegible] ← [illegible] (Opan) ←
fa. [illegible] (K) raised by her mother

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#621

hus. Atéxi (Dip. II, G30, village [illegible])
○ Totemma 1936
△ A... 1949, raised by his father

raising △ B... 1954, son of Totemma

△ Tepe 1930 L1, E40 Loka
mo. Chii (Afrydi)
fa. Adam (P) † raised by his mother

○ Totemma 1936 L1, F1 Loka
mo. Toiki ← Ilio ← Buni
fa. Atéxi (Dip. II) raised by her mother

hus. Kominti (Aw. B. 1, G1, village Asèi-Dju)
△ B... 1954 raised by Toiki, his grandmother
△ B... 1956

has not lost any children

△ Tyrie 1900 L1, D16 Logé Tebibi
mo. Asoida †
fa.

○ Yanan 1919 L1, E39 Loka
mo. Chii (Afrydi)
fa. Adam (P) † raised by her mother
1st hus. Wimo (Dju, F36, village Asèi-Dju)
lost 1 child
2d hus. Awami (Dip. II, F42, village Asèi-Dip. II)

raising A... 1948, son of Modu
card incomplete

** ○ Tobuia 1915 L1, F26 Loka
mo. Alcabe (Lio)
fa. Kodie (Dip. I)

1st hus. Liki (Aw. B.) †

2d hus. Namiadé (K1, D7, village Kotika)

sterile

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VILLAGE ASISI-DJU

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*621

△ Adòhé 1933 Dju, F12
mo. Anano † 1955
fa. Dòhé †

△ Adiine 1897 Dju, F27
mo. Alibi ← Ahe †
fa. Basili
head of the Dju lineage

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* ○ Adyàiga 1902 Dju, E19 †
mo. Sagihé †
fa. Sazaniahi † (Dikan)
raised by her mother
1st hus. W... (DJUKA)
2d hus. N... (DJUKA)
○ † at 2 yrs. 1925-1927

** ○ Afala 1930 DJUKA origin
mo. † (DJUKA)
fa. L... (DJUKA)
hus. Antalya (L1, E16, village Loka) +
○ L... 1953
raised among the Dju with Féni, her brother by the same fa., by Tini (Dju, F1), mo. of Féni

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** ○ Agala 1941 Dju, G14
mo. Kiima
fa. Makapi (lin. A8)
raised by ○ Linga (Dju, F36)
married to Pattiki (L1, F70, village Loka) 1957
divorced end of 1957, irregular life beginning 1958

○ Aleta 1941 Dju, G6
mo. Ata ← Wiimi
fa. Ayanbàdò (L1)
raised by her mother
hus. Adiimi (K2, F84, village Kotika)

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* ○ Alibi 1868 Dju, E33
mo. Ahe †
fa.
successive husbands? last hus. T... (SAR.)
○ Linga 1886
△ Adiine 1897
△ Wiimi 1900
△ Lobo 1909
plus 6 children dead in the first weeks

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*621

△ [illegible] 1938 Dju, F22
mo. Mina † ← Urelie
fa. Kido † (K)

• ○ Ata 1910 Dju, F2
mo. Wime †
fa.
1st hus. Madaku (K2, E35, village Boniville) +
2d hus. Ayambédé (L1, E37, village Loka)
child † 1936 (?) before 18 mos.
child † 1939 (?) before 1 yr.
○ Alato 1941 } raised by their mother
○ K... 1945 }
○ Y... 1951 raised by her father at Loka
1 twin † at 2 mos.
child 1953 at 3 weeks
raising ○ B... 1948, mo. Buba (Dju, G1)

○ Awali 1936 Dju, E10
mo. Urelia
fa.
1st hus. Awéni (Lin. A8) +
2d hus. Agibidam ([illegible]), (Av. B. 1, E21, village Asisi)
sterile

•• ○ Baseli 1930 Dju, E13
mo. Urelia
fa. Amampé † raised by her mother
1st hus. Danfa (L2, E26, Boniville) +
2d hus. Peima +
3d hus. V... (SAR.)
sterile

△ Bernardin 1935 K1, D63
mo. Kokoko † (village Kotika)
fa. ? (Dju) raised by his fa. at Asisi-Dju
lives with wife Kakuma (Dju)

○ Buba 1930 Dju, G1
mo. Tini ← Wime †
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by Wime
hus. S... (SAR.)
○ B... 1948, raised by ○ Ata (Dju, F2)
△ † at 5 mos. in 1946?
card incomplete

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*621

○ **Dabim 1917** Dju, G45
mo. Lángo ← Alihi
fa.
1st hus. ? (DJUKA) ⊕
2d hus. Radon (Aw. B. 1, F4)
sterile

** ○ **Dashimi 1919** Dju, F16
mo. Diana
fa.
1st hus. Amánubé (L2, F78, village Letu) ⊕
△ Léya 1941 raised by his mother
2d hus. Yofé (K2, E166, village Ketián) ⊕
○ O... 1943, raised by her mother
○ † 1st week 1945
○ † 1st week 1947
△ † 1st week 1949
2d hus. Adam (lin. A8, e7, village Asisi)
○ T... 1954

○ **Diana 1898** Dju, E9
mo. Ursila
fa. Amanupé † (Aw. B.)
1st hus. Pay ⊕
○ Dashimi 1917
2d hus. A... (SAR.)
△ Mutáká 1925
△ Fraga 1929
3d hus. E... (DJUKA) ⊕
△ Fasavé 1935
△ T... † at 1 yr. 1937?
△ L... † at 6 mos. 1939?
△ † dead at 1 month 1940?
card incomplete

△ **Fasavé 1935** Dju, F19
mo. Diana ← Ursila
fa. E... (DJUKA) raised by his father

** ○ **Filibia 1927** Dju, G41
mo. Dando † ← Anna †
fa.
hus. Akudo (Aw. B. 2, E38, village Asisi)
△ † 1st week 1946
○ A... 1946, raised by ○ Tikúdi
○ ○ twins †† 1st week 1948
○ A... 1949
○ ○ twins †† 1st week 1951
○ A... 1954

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△ **Bisi 1920** Dju, G2
mo. Tisi ← Wíme †
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

△ **Panga 1920** Dju, F33
mo. Diana ← Ursule
fa. A... (Sar.) raised by his mother

△ **Kéwéna 1935** Dju, G10
mo. Yéíshi ← Wíma †
fa. Tapi † raised by his mother

△ **Kaniani 1935 (?)** Aw. B. 1, G1
mo. Embéhi †
fa. P... (DJUKA) raised by his fa., lives with the Dju.

○ **Kukum 1890?** Dju, F46
mo. Bemema †
fa.
hus. Bernardin (K1, D62, living with her in Asisi-Dju)
no living children
raising ○ Tikiti 1941, dau. of Mine †
card incomplete: refused to answer

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* ○ **Linga 1888** Dju, F36
mo. Aliki
fa. †
successive husbands?
○ Dabina 1917
has lost 7 children 1 to 5 yrs. old

△ **Lémi 1941** Dju, G29
mo. Doekini
fa. Amimbé raised by his mother

△ **Lako 1916** Dju, F29
mo. Aliki ← Abe †
fa.

△ **Mañéfé 1927** Dju, F17
mo. Diana ← Ursule
fa. A... (SAR.) raised by his mother

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* ○ **Fanna 1930** Dju, G2
mo. Tisi
fa. L... (DJUKA) raised by ○ Aliki (Dju, F36)
hus. Bimo (Aw. B. 1, F37, village Asisi) ÷ in 1952

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△ P... 1947, raised by Kyéti, mother of his father, in Asisi
○ A... 1950
has not lost any children
woman with a bad reputation: irregular life

** ○ **Pauman 1928** Dju, E28
mo. Apikiwan †
fa. raised by ○ Tini (Dju, F1)
1st hus. Abéni (Aw. B. 1, F49, village Asisi)
○ † in 8 days 1943
△ B... 1944, raised by Tini (Dju, F1)
○ K... 1948, raised by her mother
2d hus. Tede (K3, F68, Bonivilla) since 1952
○ L... 1960, raised by her mother
child† in 2 days 1956

△ **Poinie 1933** Dju, F85
mo. Amati † ← Ureüla
fa. Saöö (L) raised by his father

** ○ **Fikà 1911** Dju, F88
mo. Anna †
fa.
1st hus. Bokuman (P1, F33, Bonivilla)? ✢
2d hus. Djoy (Aw. B. 1, D82, village Asisi) ✢
3d hus. Baafu (L2, E50, Bonivilla)
sterile

** ○ **Saza 1930** Dju, E27
mo. Apikiwan † ← Amopé †
fa. P... † (Aw. B.) raised by ○ Kulube, her fa.'s mo.
1st hus. Béku (K) ✢
B... 1949 raised by his mother
2d hus. Kafiawa (lin. Poti, Bonivilla) ✢
E... 1951
○ K... † 1952-54
3d hus. Atuula (K2, F80, village Kotika)
○ L... June 1956

△ **Saakafu 1932** Dju, G45
mo. Deedo † ← Anna †
fa.

△ **Soeman 1915** Dju, K14
mo. Ureüla
fa. Amaupé †

** ○ **Tòmali 1941** Dju, F34
mo. Kukuss
fa.
1st hus. Aminimau (Aw. B. 1, F40, village Asisi) raised by her mother
O... Oct. 57

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** ○ **Tíndom 1923** Dju, G40
mo. Dende † ← Anna †
fa. raised by her mother
1st hus. Tafiste (K2, E157, Bapiville) ✢
2d hus. Dosté (L1, E16, village Loka)
△ † in a few days 1946 (?)
raising ○ † A... 1946, mo. Félicie.

** ○ **Tini 1886** Dju, F1
mo. Wima †
fa.
hus. L... (DJUKA)
† † 2 children dead before 1 yr.
○ Buba 1904?
△ † stillborn
○ † 1 day
△ dead 1st week
○
△ Féni
○ Pasma 1920
raising △ B... 1944, mo. Pamana (Dju, E26)

△ **Tyala 1919** Dip. II, F48
mo. Alawenshi †
fa.

* ○ **Ursila 1870** Dju, D3
mo. Sasmawi †
fa.
successive husbands?
△ Abo † 1888-1957
△ † dead at 1 mo.
○ Diana 1892
○ Awali 1896
○ † Mána 1895-1944
○ † Amali 1897-1940
○ † Baswé 1900
△ Sosoman 1916
△ † Hábiman 1910-1952

△ **Wéna 1900** Dju, F20
mo. Aliki
fa.

△ **Yachi 1930** Dju, F23
mo. Mána † ← Ursila
fa. Kido † (K) raised by his father

△ **Yaka 1870** SARAMAKA
Saramaka living for a very long time in the Dju lot hus. of Aliki

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* ○ Tôdéhi 1913 Dja, F3

mo. Wima
fa. Toli (Dip. 1)

1st hus. Topi †
△ † Kéwéna 1929
△ † 4 days 1940
△ † 3 days 1941
△ † 1943-1950
△ † à 1 yr. 1944

2d hus. Akyaba +

raising △ L... 1946 & △ R... 1950, mo. Apuku †

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VILLAGE ASISI-AWARA BANKA

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△ **Abéni 1912** Aw. B. 1, F49
mo. Nana
fa. A... (DJUKA) †
raised by △ Anisma, bro. of Nana

** ○ **Abenkina 1929** Aw. B. 1, F31
mo. Kakyé
fa. Musa (Dip. I)
raised by her mother
1st hus. Fraga (Dju, F18, village Asisi) +
2d hus. Boedo (Aw. B. 1, E31, village Asisi) +

sterile
not remarried end 1957
(woman with a bad reputation: irregular life)

** ○ **Abaya 1936** Aw. B. 2, E83
mo. Saanéti
fa. Kondoku (Aw. B. 1)
raised by Saanéti
1st hus. Tabayé (Dip. 1, F73, village L'Enfant Perdu) +
2d hus. Féni (Dju, G3, village Asisi-Dju)
△ P... 1953 raised by Saanéti
○ L... 1955)
○ S... 1957) raised by their mother
has not lost any children

△ **Adam 1922** Afl, e7
mo. Emélna †
fa. Creole from Surinam
raised by his mo. Emélna †

○ **Adinesman 1941** Aw. B. 2, E86
mo. Saanéti
fa. Kondoku (Aw. B. 1)
raised by her mother

△ **Agiblan 1900** Aw. B. 1, F7.
mo. Akasina †
fa.

** ○ **Agyasa 1933** Aw. B. 1, F33
mo. Kyéti
fa. Aléwa
raised by Aléwa, her fa.
1st hus. Atukwi +

2d hus. Pósti (K1, E30, village Kotika) +

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3d hus. Maiiki (L2, F64, village Asisi)
△ M... Dec. 56

raising ○ S... 1955, mo. Lébimiéki

** ○ **Akanté 1909** Aw. B. 3, E70
mo. Anéta
fa. Péyon † raised by her father

1st hus. Nguté (K2, D104, village Kotika) ✝
△ Félini 1929
○ Summa 1931
△ D... 1943, raised by Anéta
△ A... 1945, raised by his mother
○ O... 1946, raised by her mother

2d hus. Poopa (Dip. II, E7, village Kormotibo)
△ L... 1948 raised by his mother
△ R... 1950
△ F... 1953

has not lost any children

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* ○ **Akioki 1933** Aw. B. 1, F87
mo. Yechi †
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by ○ Tiu (Aw. B. 1, E16)

hus. Akaepa (K2, E134, Boniville)
△ S... 1956 raised by his mother

△ **Akude 1920** Aw. B. 2, E58
mo. Eusma
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

△ **Alimia 1917** Aw. B. 1, E40
mo. Akumayé †
fa. D... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

raising △ A... 1949, mo. Yundu † (village Lapé T.)

△ **Aléwa 1892** Aw. B. 1, E4
mo. Kulube †
fa.

○ **Alède 1915** Aw. B. 1, E22
mo. Mali †
fa. ? (Surinamese Creole) raised by ○ Aliki (Dju-Asisi)

1st hus. Yénimu (Dip. I, E22, village L'Enfant Perdu)
△ Ameniamu 1929

2d hus. L... (DJUKA)
may have lost some children?
may have had unions of short duration with Namiadé and Senidal

raising ○ A... 1953, mo. Lébimey
card incomplete

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·· ○ **Amélia 1922** Aw. B. 1, F19
mo. Kakyé
fa. Basaié (L.)
1st hus. Baiwa (Dip. II, G27, village Asté) †
△ S... 1943, raised by Kakyé
△ T... 1946, raised by Kakyé
2d hus. Sindu (L2, F82, village Lapé Tabiki)
○ A... 1947, raised by her mother
△ † 1st week 1949
△ M... 1950, raised by his father at Lapé-Tabiki
raising △ A... 1956, mo. Atuku †

△ **Aminimu 1939** Aw. B. 1, F40
mo. Aliaia
fa. Yémanu (Dip. I) raised by his mother

○ **Aminte 1934** Aw. B. 3, E74
mo. Anéta †
fa. Péyon † raised by her mother

△ **Amoumpé 1887** Aw. B. 1, E3
mo. Kulube †
fa.

· ○ **Anéla 1875** Aw. B. 3 (foundress)
mo. Abéenki (DJUKA)
fa. (came to reside in her husband's vill.)
hus. Péyon (Aw. B. 1) †
△ † 1 week 1897
○ † 1 week 1898
△ Empalé 1898 (?)
○ † 1 1/2 yrs. 1900
△ † Papay 1903-1942
△ † Pwina 1904-1951
△ Ayouma emigrated to Djuka country
○ † Akuma emigrated to Djuka country
○ † Apéèyé † at 20 yrs. 1907-1927
○ Akanié 1909
○ Kilina 1913
△ Gaimo 1916
△ Aminte 1922
raising △ D... 1943, mo. Akanié, & △ T... 1951, mo. Sumana

△ **Antoma 1886** Aw. B. 1, 47
mo. Adiaman †
fa.

○ **Apaki 1940** Aw. B. 1, F34
mo. Kakyé
fa. Musa (Dip. I) raised by her mother

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○ **Apinda 1919** Aw. B. 1, F16
mo. Kakyé
fa. A... (SAR.) raised by her mother
1st hus. Apayu (lin.. Tolna, village Pagaitean) ✦
○ S... † at 5 yrs.
○ Tuwi 1937
△ † 1st week
2d hus. Kwami (Dip. 11, F4, village Kormotibo) ✦
no children
3d hus. Fenti (K1, D34, village Kotika) ✦ in July 57
card incomplete

△ **Asakya 1939** Aw. B. 2, E85
mo. Samsiti
fa. Kondoku (Aw. B. 1) raised by Kondoku

○ **Awasa 1941** Aw. B. 1, G58
mo. Lína ← Namu
fa. Balema (L.) raised by Namu, her grandmother

△ **Awási 1895** lignage Aß, e12
mo. Tanáfa †
fa.
raising △ F... 1950, mo. Sefié

** ○ **Ayékamsa 1911** Aw. B. 1, F8
mo. Titi
fa. Yosé †
1st hus. Kolisen (K1, E12, village Kotika-Abenaseonga) ✦
○ Kapochi (Nési) 1931
† 1934-1936 dead at 18 mos.
† 1937-1939 dead at 2 yrs.
○ Dama 1941 raised by her mother
2d hus. △ A... (DJUKA) ✦
† 1946-1948 dead at 2 yrs.
3d hus. T... (DJUKA) ✦ in 1953
△ A... 1938 raised by his mother

△ **Baakamsa 1930** Aw. B. 1, F12
mo. Titi
fa. Yosé † raised by his mother

△ **Badua 1928 (?)** Aw. B. 1, F4
mo. Liki † ← Kuluba
fa. Saling raised by his grandmother Kuluba

** ○ **Bakáchi 1937** Aw. B. 1, F79
mo. Kyéti
fa. Aléwa (Aw. B. 1) raised by her mother
hus. Amato (L2, G61, village Lapé Tabiki)
sterile

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•• ○ **Bima** 1922 Aw. B. 2, E73
mo. Akusé † ← Péêyon
fa.
1st hus. Pitipiti (Aw. B. 1, F3, village Asisi)
○ † at 6 yrs. 1945-1951
○ † at 3 yrs. 1949-1952
2d hus. Maina (Aw. B. 1, F48, village Asisi)
○ B... 1946

△ **Bém** 1914 Aw. B. 1, F17
mo. Kakyé ← Akasaina †
fa. A... (SAR.) † raised by his mother

△ **Béé** 1927 Aw. B. 1, F37
mo. Kyéti
fa. Aléwa (Aw. B. 1) raised by his mother

○ **Bipo** 1913 Aw. B. 1, F11
mo. Titi
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by her mother
1st hus. Dundu (lin. A8, 66)
○ A... 1951 raised by Titi
2d hus. Abinaso (P1, G65, village Papaïdam)
○ B... raised by Titi
card incomplete

△ **Bodo** 1888 (?) Aw. B. 1, E31
mo. Mali †
fa.

△ **Badé** 1941
mo. Titi
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

△ **Bodya** 1941 Aw. B. 1, F45
mo. Irma ← Akumuyé †
fa. A... (DJUKA) † raised by his mother

•• ○ **Bagi** 1915 Aw. B. 1, F41
mo. Irma ← Akumuyé †
fa. Samuyuka raised by Akumuyé
1st hus. B... (SAR.) ✦
△ Dondé 1939
2d hus. Fintiman (Dju, F6, Bonivillie)
no children
raising ○ D... 1948, her sister

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** ○ **Chéléna 1939** Aw. B. 1, F42
mo. Irma ← Akumuyé †
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by Irma, her mother

hus. Déési (L1, F48, village Loka)since 1947
△ O... 1948, raised by Mélisa, mo. of his fa. (L)
△ B... 1951, raised by Irma
○ H... 1954, raised by her mother

○ **Dama 1941**
mo. Ayékuman
fa. Kolimon (K) raised by her mother

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* ○ **Délima 1931** DJUKA origin
mo. ? (DJUKA)
fa. lives with her husband
hus. Malue (Aw. B. 1, F42, village Asisi)
○ † at 3 mos. in 1952

○ **Den 1931** Aw. B. 1, F26
mo. Yochi †
fa. P... † (DJUKA) raised by Atuim, Yochi's sis.
hus. Aminto (Aw. B. 3, E74, village Asisi)
△ G... 1957

△ **Doeli 1930** Aw. B. 1, G40
mo. Bugi
fa. B... (SAR.) raised by his mother

△ **Dopie 1918** Aw. B. 1, F9
mo. Titi
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by his mother
raising △ A... 1952, mo. Bédeki (village Asisi-Dip. II)

△ **Dusala 1931** lineage A8, 48
mo. Saluta † ← Emina
fa. Amusupé (Aw. B. 1) raised by his mother

** ○ **Emma 1886 (?)** Aw. B. 2, D25
mo. Abiti †
fa.

1st hus.(?)

2d hus. A... (DJUKA) ✝
△ Ahodo 1920
○ Déési † 1923-1926
△ S... † 1929-1949
○ Kolaku 1933

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3d hus. Tyaka (L1, D18, village Loka)
○ Fakima 1937
△ T... † at 3 yrs. 1940-1943
4th hus. Semié (L1, E32, village Loka)
not remarried

raising △ T... 1954, mo. Fakima, &○ A... 1948, mo. Déési †

△ [illegible] 1896 (?)
mo. Anéta (?)
fa. Pééyen † raised by his fa. in Asisi-Aw. B.

△ [illegible] 1926 Aw. B. 1, E35
mo. Akumina †
fa.

** ○ Fakima 1937 Aw. B. 2, E51
mo. Emma
fa. Tyaka (L.) raised by her mother
hus. Neéli (Dip. I, F83, [illegible])
△ T... raised by Emma
○ A... March 1957

△ [illegible] 1929 Aw. B. 3
mo. Akanié ← Anéta
fa. Ngué (K)

△ [illegible] 1918 Aw. B. 2, E78
mo. Anéta
fa. Pééyen † raised by his mother
most often lives with the DJUKA

△ [illegible] 1910 Aw. B. 1, F7
mo. Titi
fa. Youé †
raising B... 1930, mo. Ote (Papaïston)

** ○ Irma 1897 Aw. B. 1, E37
mo. Akumayé †
fa. †

1st hus. Samayuka ✝
○ Bugi 1915
△ † at 1 week 1917

2d hus. A... (DJUKA) † in 1951
○ P... † at 2 yrs. 1918-1919
○ stillborn 1920
△ [illegible] 1921
△ P... † at 15 yrs. 1925-1940
○ [illegible] 1929
△ Lewa 1929

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△ B... 1941, raised by his mother
○ R... 1946, raised by her mother
○ D... 1948, raised by her elder sister Bagi

3d hus. Adiké (Dju, F37, village Asisi)
raising △ B... 1951, son of Chitalia

** ○ Kabié 1892 Aw. B. 1, E18
mo. Akamina †
fa.
1st hus. A... (BAR.) +
○ Apinda 1912
△ Bésu 1914
△ T... † 1917-1934, dead at 17 yrs.
2d hus. Sanié (L1, E38, village Loka) +
○ Amélia 1922
△ D... † 1923-1938, dead at 15 yrs.
3d hus. A... (DJUKA) +
△ Pupakoy 1925
4th hus. Mese (Dip. I, E16, village Apatu) +
○ Abenkina 1928
△ P... † 1931-1935, dead at 4 yrs.
△ D... † 1933-1936, dead at 3 yrs.
△ Tyuhatu 1937
○ Apalé 1940, raised by her mother
not remarried

raising △ K... 1952, mo. Wilhelmina, △ S... 1943 & △ Y... 1945, mo. Amélie

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* ○ Kilina 1913 Aw. B. 2, E71
mo. Anéla
fa. Pédyan †
1st hus. K... (DJUKA) +
○ Nédélé 1937
○ Susanna 1941, raised by her mother
2d hus. Ambambé (L2, F70, village Loka)
○ K... 1951, raised by ○ Susana, niece of Kilina
△ A... 1954, raised by his father in village Loka
△ S... July 56
has not lost any children

** ○ Kolaba 1930 Aw. B. 2, E30
mo. Emma
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by ○ Saanéti, her mo.'s sis.
1st hus. Kéndé +
2d hus. Abeuta (K2, F60, village Kotika) +
3d hus. Béti (Aw. B. 1, F37)
○ A... 1951, raised by ○ Kyéli, her father's mother

△ Kondoko 1903 Aw. B. 1, E23
mo. Akamina †
fa.
head of the Awara Dabla lo

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△ Kabamman 1940 lineage A6, a9
mo. Samabom
fa. Y... (DJUKA) raised by his mother

** ○ Kyéli 1891 Aw. B. 1, E20
mo. Mali † ← Apaina †
fa.
hus. Aléwa (Aw. B. 1, E4) ✣
△ P... † at 2 yrs. 1915-1917
△ P... † at 2 yrs. 1919-1921
○ † at 3 yrs. 1923-1926
△ Bétti 1927
○ Agyess 1933
○ Bakishi 1937
2d hus. ○ Paskali (Creole, Surinam) ✣
3d hus. Sesaman (Dje, E14) ✣
raising △ P... 1946, mo. Panna, Dje-Asisi, & ○ A... 1951, mo. Kobeke (Aw. B. 2)

△ Lawa 1930 Aw. B. 1, F44
mo. Irma ← Akampyé †
fa. A... † raised by his mother

○ Lékimay 1930 Aw. B. 1, F55
mo. Nama
fa. Koniman (L.) raised by her mother
1st hus. Manga (P1, G31, Boniville) ✣
○ A... 1953 raised by ○ Alicia (Aw. B. 1, E33)
1 stillborn
2d hus. Mahaleonké (K2, F150, Boniville) ✣
○ † at 5 mos. 1956
△ A... 1957
card incomplete

** ○ Lébiamishi 1931 Aw. B. 1, F37
mo. Yooshi †
fa. Bosfu raised by ○ Akamina †
hus. Abogna (Dip. 1, E35, village L'Enfant Perdu)
△ G... 1949, raised by his mother
△ A... 1951, raised by his mother
○ S..., raised by ○ Agyess (Aw. B. 1, F29)
○ G... 1955

** ○ Lina 1922 Aw. B. 1, E32
mo. Namu
fa. A... (BAP.)
hus. Bakami (L1, F37, village Loka)
○ Awasa 1942, raised by Namu
△ † 18 mos. 1950-1952

[illegible]

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△ [illegible] 19[illegible] Aw. B. 1, F48
mo. [illegible] ← [illegible] †
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by his father

△ Malibi 1928 L2, F84
mo. Assikunde ← Atili †
fa. A... (SAR.) † raised by his fa. at Asisi-Aw. B.

** ○ Hisai 1925 lineage A8, 412
mo. Safi ← Tanéta
fa. Ambaisasu † raised by her mother
1st hus. Akwali (Dip. II, F7, village Kormotibo) +
no children
2d hus. Baime (Dip. II, G27, village Asisi-Dip. II) + in 1949
△† at 1 mo.
○ B... 1948, raised by ○ Safi
△ B... 1950, id
3d hus. Gaimo (Aw. B. 2, E72, village Asisi) in 1956
no children
Observation : woman with a bad reputation: irregular life from 1949 to 1956

△ Misapi 1930 lineage A8, 48
mo. Emina † ← Afi †
fa.

△ Misio 1935 Aw. B. 1, E48
mo. Adiaman †
fa.

** ○ [illegible] 1937 Aw. B. 2, F90
mo. Kijina
fa. K... (DJUKA) raised by her mother
hus. Kopo (Dip. II, G28, village Asisi) since 1953
sterile

** [illegible] 1914 Aw. B. 1, F89
mo. Namu
fa. raised by her mother
unmarried

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* ○ [illegible] 1891 † Aw. B. 1, E48
mo. A... †
fa. Kwa... (Djuka) †
1st hus. A... (DJUKA) +
△ [illegible] 1913
○ [illegible] 1914
○ † [illegible] 1916-1926
2d hus. A... (SAR.) +
○ [illegible] 1918

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○ Léna 1922
△ Sééhuman 1929

3d hus. Konimon (L1, E21, village Loka)
○ Léhimay 1930
○ † at 2 mos. 1932
△ Afonsie 1935 ⎫ settled in the village Loka
○ Neho (Amoldi) 1936 ⎭
○ † in a few days 1938

raising △ K... 1948, mo. Noémi

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* Héni 1931 Aw. B. 1, G7

mo. Ayékuman
fa. △... (DJUKA)

hus. Soulufu (Dju, G48, village Asisi-Dju)
○ E... † at 2 mos. 1952
△ † stillborn 1954

** ○ Boiami 1918 Aw. B. 1, F51

mo. Namu
fa. A... (SAR.)

1st hus. Todo (K2, F28, Boniville) ✦
△ † before 1 yr. 1963
△ G... 1944, raised by Todo in Boniville
△ W... 1947, raised by his mother
△ M... † 1948-1958

2d hus. Gabue (Aw. B. 3, E72, village Asisi) ✦
△ K... 1949, raised by Namu

3d hus. A... (DJUKA) ✦
{ △ A... 1952, raised by his mother
{ ○ twin † at 1 yr.

4th hus. Kwami (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo), since April 1957

** ○ Paulki 1937 A8, d13

mo. Sefi
fa. Agibiden raised by her mother
hus. Petoto (Dju, F25, village Asisi-Dju)
△ S... 1955

△ Papudi 1941 Aw. B. 1, G8

mo. Emboki †
fa. Creole raised by Kutuba †, his maternal great-grandmother

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△ Papaluy 1936 Aw. B. 1, F20

mo. Kakyé
fa. A... (DJUKA) raised by his mother Kakyé

△ Filipiti 1921 Aw. B. 1, F3

mo. Liki † ← Kutuba
fa. A... (DJUKA) † raised by △ Bernardin (Asisi)

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· ○ Basadi 1905 Aw. B. 2, D30
mo. Ahili †
fa.
hus. Kandoku
○ Aleeya 1928
△ Dolo † 1930-1932 (?)
△ Amikya 1939
○ Adimamma 1941
△ † at 1 yr. 1943
raising △ P... 1953, mo. Aleeya

·· ○ Sali 1900 A8, c12
mo. Tonéta †
fa.
1st hus. Amdatama (L) ✥ †
△ T... † at 8 yrs., 1920-28
○ Mani 1925
2d hus. Amampé (Aw. B. 1, E3, village Asisi) ✥
3d hus. Agbidon (Aw. B. 1, E21, village Asisi) ✥ (?)
○ Pendiki 1937
raising ○ B... 1948 & △ B... 1950, mo. Mani

○ Samabam 1922 lineage A8, 43
mo. Salotu † ← Emina
fa.
1st hus. Y... (DJUKA) ✥
△ Kokamana 1948, raised by his mother
2d hus. Djani (Aw. B. 3) †
3d hus. Nétali (K) ✥
○ B... 1948, raised by her mother
4th hus. Tabayé (Dip. 1, F72, village L'Enfant Perdu)
△ H... 1957
card incomplete

·· ○ Samamma 1936 lineage A8, d22
mo. Bankamma † ← Tonéta
fa. Manu (Dip. II, Kormatibo) raised by △ Awéni, maternal uncle of her mother
1st hus. Piti (L) †
2d hus. Abéni (Aw. B. 1, F49)
△ A... 1952, raised by his father
△ A... Dec. 1956

·· ○ Sefil 1921 Aw. B. 1, F10
mo. Tili
fa. Adingo (Dip. I) raised by her mother
1st hus. Awéni (lin. A8, c12, village Asisi) ✥
△ K... 1947, raised by his mother
△ F... 1952, raised by his father
△ † at 1 week 1954
2d hus. Kaliowa (lin. Pedi, Boniville)
△ S... 1955

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* ○ [illegible] 1931   Aw. B. 2, F31
mo. Akamié ← Anéta
fa. Ngwé (K)   raised by Anéta
hus. Kabéta (L1, F48, village Loka)
△ † at 1 yr. 1949
○ Y... 1951, raised by Anéta
△ S... end 1956
raising ○ K... 1961, mo. Kilina

△ Tolona 1927   Aw. B. 1, K28
mo. Akemmyé †
fa.   most often lives in DJUKA country

** ○ Tité 1890   Aw. B. 1, K16
mo. Akumina †
fa.
1st hus. Yondé †
△ Gaama 1909
△ † at 8 mos.
○ stillborn
○ Aplimama 1913
△ † at 2 days 1914
△ † at 1 week 1916
2d hus. Adingo (Dip. I) ◆
△ Depin 1919
○ Seté 1921
○ Biyo 1923
△ Benkuman 1925
a child † before 1 yr. (?)
3d hus. Djabé (L) ◆ †
4th hus. A... (DJUKA) ◆
△ Bodé 1940
△ K... 1943
not remarried
raising ○ A... 1951 & ○ B... 1954, mo. Biyo, ○ F... 1946, mo. Ola, village Papaïchton

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○ Tomé 1927   Aw. B. 1, G15
mo. Aplinda ← Kaïyé
fa. Apayo   raised by her mother
hus. Mono (K)
○ M... 1950 }
○ R... 1957 } raised by their mother
card incomplete

△ Tyalindo 1927   Aw. B. 1, F28
mo. Kaïyé
fa.   raised by his mother

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Villages of Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipoia II

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I) Kossoema

△ Akwali 1915 Dip. II, F7 Kormotibo
mo. Mochi-Mochi † ← Kwéyiaman
fa. Papo (L.)

raising △ A... 1948, mo. Gon (Papadam)

△ Aléndo 1900 lineage Afô, b3 Kormotibo
mo. Afô †
fa.

•• ○ Alama 1880 Dip. II, E1 Kormotibo
mo. Kwéyiaman
fa. Séninoali (P)
1st hus. K... (DJUKA)
△ † 1 mo. 1897
○ † Pôlikana 1899-1948
△ † 1901-1920
3d hus. Kasai (P) ◊ †
△ C... ô 1906-1908
△ Kwami 1908
3d hus. M... (DJUKA) †
△ Balila 1920
4th hus. P... (Creole) ◊

•• ○ Apalin 1912 † Dip. II, F9 Kormotibo
mo. Mochi-Mochi †
fa. Papo (L.)
hus. N... (village Papatdon)
† child dead 1st week 1937
† child dead — 1938
† child dead — 1939
† ch. 1940
† ch. 1941 —
○ H... 1942, raised by her mother
△ S... 1950
○ R... 1953
△ S... 1955
○ L... Oct. 1957
} raised by their mother

△ Balila 1920 Dip. II, F5 Kormotibo
mo. Alama
fa. M... (DJUKA) raised by his sister Pôlikana †

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△ Bâsa 1929 P1, G20
mo. Ninga
fa. Agudi (lin. Tolna) †

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* ○ Bango 1901 Dip. II, E8 Kawatiibo
mo. Kwéyisman †
fa. Lôbiitwaku (Dju) † raised by her mother

hus. Tolingo (P1, E11, village Papatolen) ✦
△ † in a few months
△ † Sanissa 1934-1948

not remarried

** ○ Dessayé 1920 Dip. II, G17 Kawatiibo
mo. Nassy †
fa. Somié (P1)
1st hus. A... (DJUKA) ✦

2d hus. K... (DJUKA) ✦
○ A... 1948, raised by Uman, Dessayé's sis.
△ † in a few months
△ A... 1950, raised by Aineadé in village Loka
○ K... 1953

△ Dolabiman 1934 lineage A6, 415 Kawatiibo
mo. Magdaléna
fa. Léon († 1954) raised by his mother

△ Dakwé 1936 lineage A6, 419
mo. Magdaléna
fa. Léon († 1954) raised by his mother

** ○ Gongoina 1937 lineage A6, 418
mo. Magdaléna
fa. Léon † raised by her mother

hus. Tapié (Djané) (lin. Tolna, village Papatolen)
○ K... Nov. 57

△ Kôdé 1950 Dip. II, F20 Kawatiibo
mo. Akaba †
fa. Kasya (Dju) † raised by his mother

△ Kasumi 1930 Dip. II, F4 Kawatiibo
mo. Alama
fa. Kazel (P) † raised by his mother

** ○ Lôkôé 1925 Dip. II, Kawatiibo
mo. Pôlikum † ← Alama
fa. K... (DJUKA) †
1st hus. Yuso (P1, E15, village Papatolen) ✦

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2d hus. Tafoeto (K3, K237, Bonéville) ✢
○ † in 2 days 1965

3d hus. T... (DJUKA) ✢
△ E... 1948, raised by his mother
△ B... 1951, raised by his mother

4th hus. Boniseman (Aw. B. 1, F12, village Asisi)
△ T... 1953
○ A... Jan. 1957

○ **Magdeléne 1912** lineage Aš, a90 **Kormotibo**
mo. Tomáia †
fa.
hus. Léon † 1953
△ Dolobiaman 1924
△ † at 3 yrs. 1926-1929
△ † at 2 yrs. 1928-1930
△ T... 1930
△ B... 1933
○ Manda 1935
○ Gongalou 1937
△ Dokwé 1938
△ S... † 1941-1942
○ † 1943-1948
○ S... 1944
○ E... 1949
△ B... 1951
raising △ G... 1948 mo. Boniseman †
not remarried end of 1957
Observation : Magdeléne has raised all her children herself

△ **Bisua 1905** Dip. 11, 59 **Kormotibo**
mo. Kwéyiaman †
fa. Lébikwaku † (Dju, Asisi) raised by his father

• ○ **Manda 1935** Aš, d18 **Kormotibo**
mo. Magdeléne
fa. Léon † raised by her mother
hus. Dodo (Papaichton)
△ † 1953-1955

• ○ **Elaga 1899** P3, F70 **Kormotibo**
mo. Alabikyé †
fa. Aléma (lineage Aš)
husbs. ? last hus. Agoti (lin. Aš) † 1957
△ † 1st week 1920
△ † 1st week 1922
△ † 1st week 1924
○ † 1st day 1926
△ Bisa 1929

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△ **[illegible] 1908** Dip. II, E7 **Kormotibo**
mo. Kwéyimana †
fa. Lôdikwaiu
head of the village Kormotibo

** ○ **[illegible] 1918** Dip. II, G15 **Kormotibo**
mo. Nessy †
fa. A... (SAH.) † raised by her mother
1st hus. Amdombé (L2, F79, village Loka) ✦
2d hus. Mongoto (lin. Tolma, village Papatoto)
○ † at 2 yrs. 1947-1949
raising ○ A... 1948, mo. Dessayé

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2) Asisi-Dipélu II

* ○ **Akwali 1929** Dip. II **Asisi-Dip. II**
mo. Kasia ← Sèdy
fa. Loka (Dju) raised by her mother
hus. Papakay (Aw. B. 1, F82, village Asisi) since 1955
○ B... 1956

△ **Amandé 1907** Dip. II, F62 **Asisi-Dip. II**
mo. Afôandi †
fa. Balbichi † (Dip. I) raised by his father

△ **Asisi 1910** Dip. II, G20 **Asisi-Dip. II**
mo. Pilô †
fa. Agodébo (P1, Papatoto) raised by his father
raising △ A... 1942, mo. Talié (village Loka)

△ **Baina 1915** Dip. II, G27 **Asisi-Dip. II**
mo. Sèdy
fa. Mato (Aw. B.) raised by his father
raising △ G... 1951, mo. Téhé (village Loka)

** ○ **Bédaki 1930** Dip. II, G22 **Asisi-Dip. II**
mo. Pilô †
fa. Agodébo (P1) raised by her mother
1st hus. Adom (lin. Afi) ✦
2nd hus. Dopie (Aw. B. 1, F9, village Asisi) ✦
△ A... 1952, raised by his father in Asisi
○ A... 1955
△ L... 1957

○ **Ghôdôti 1920** Dip. II, G24 **Asisi-Dip. II**
mo. Pilô †
fa. Agodébo

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1st hus. Mangoto (L Totso) ◆
2d hus. Maipa (Dip. I, F58, village L'Enfant Perdu) ◆
3d hus. K... (DJUKA)
sterile

** ○ **Kaula 1917** Dip. II, G28 Asisi-Dip. II
mo. Sénty †
fa. Nato †
1st hus. Madéko (K2, E20, Bonéville) ◆
2d hus. Laka (Djo, F20, village Asisi)
○ Amoda 1939
△ † 1944-1946
○ K... 1949
○ G... 1950
○ † stillborn 1955
○ A... 1954, raised by her mother
○ M... 1954, raised by Ablaman in Loka
3d hus. Tomas (L1, F22, village Loka) ◆

** ○ **Kilinga 1938** Dip. II, G31 Asisi-Dip. II
mo. Kaula ← Sénty
fa. Laka raised by her mother
1st hus. Béso (P2, G60, village Papaïchton) ◆
2d hus. Simon (Dip. I, F78, village L'Enfant Perdu)
△ E... 1952
△ F... 1954
has not lost any children

△ **Kapo 1925** Dip. II, G32 Asisi-Dip. II
mo. Sénty †
fa. Nato raised by his father

** ○ **Tamo 1932** Dip. II, G29 Asisi-Dip. II
mo. Sénty †
fa. Nato raised by her mother
1st hus. Dyakoto (Dip. I, E4, Bonéville) ◆
2d hus. Adikéyé (P1, G55, Papaïchton)
○ Z... 1955
raising ○ S... 1949, mo. Tyoko

** ○ **Tyoko 1936** Dip. II, G30 Asisi-Dip. II
mo. Sénty †
fa. Nato
1st hus. Sindo (L2, F60, village Loka) ◆
○ A... 1948, raised by her mother
○ S... 1949, raised by Tamo, Tyoko's sis.
○ † at 4 mos.
○ T... 1951
2d hus. Dodo (K1, E16, village Kotika)
△ A... 1953
○ E... Oct. 1957

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VILLAGE [illegible]

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Δ [illegible] 19[illegible] Pl, [illegible]
mo. Wâiiti
fa.

Δ Adam 1910
mo. ?)
fa. ?) uncertain origin

O Adinda 19[illegible] Pl, 19[illegible]
mo. Mama ← Wâiiti
fa.
hus. B... (DJUKA)
Δ Y... 19[illegible]
Δ A... 19[illegible]
raised by [illegible] †, her maternal great-grandmother

Δ [illegible] 19[illegible] Pl, E3
mo. [illegible] †
fa.
raising Δ A... 19[illegible], mo. [illegible]
Observation : remembered having been 10 to 12 years old at the time of the death of the grand man [illegible] ([illegible]).

O [illegible] 1931 Pl, F10
mo. [illegible] ← Ela
fa. [illegible] (Dip. II)
raised by [illegible], her mo.'s sis.
hus. [illegible] (Dip. I)
sterile (?)
card incomplete

[illegible] 1939 Pl, P4
mo. [illegible] †
fa.
raised by his uncle [illegible]

O [illegible] 19[illegible] Pl, F21
mo. [illegible] ← Ela
fa. [illegible] ([illegible]) (Dip. II)
raised by her mother
hus. [illegible] ([illegible], [illegible], [illegible]) since 1953
O† 2 days 1953
Δ† 1 week 1954
Δ S... 19[illegible]

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** ○ [illegible] 1910 P1, F45
mo. Ayaka †
fa. raised by her mother
1st hus. Kwato (K2, E109, village Katiku) ÷ in 1950
○ Dapi 1930
○ † 1930-1945
△ † 8 mos. 1931
○ Maime 1933
○ † 1 week
○ Bambi 1936
△ Dubu 1940 raised by his father
△ S... 1946
2d hus. W... (Creole)
raising △ A... 1952, mo. Atipay.

** ○ [illegible] 1919 lineage Toine (BAKABUCHI)
mo. Fuchi ← Toine
fa. raised by Toine
1st hus. Agaya (P) †
△ Tupié 1935
2d hus. Atáni (Dip. II, G20, village Asini-Dip. II)
○ Susam 1938
○ K... † at 1 yr. 1940
△ A... 1945, raised by △ Agudáke (P1, E3)
△ B... † 1946-1948
△ P... 1950, raised by △ Agayu, his mother's uncle
△ † at 3 yrs. 1951-1954
△ † at 2 yrs. 1951-1953
△ T... 1953
△ B... 1955

△ Agayu 1901 lineage Toine (BAKABUCHI)
mo. Toine ← [illegible]
fa. Agudáke (?)
raising △ P... 1950, mo. [illegible]

** ○ [illegible] 1898 P1, E10
mo. Eda
fa. Fundé †
1st hus. Adiloo (Dju, F27, village Asini-Dju) ÷
3 child. † before 1 yr.
○ Béteé 1925
○ Gon 1927
○ Kokoyo 1929
2d hus. Kédé (Dip. II, F23, village Koumotibo) ÷
○ Agudéman 1931
△ Dodo 1933
3d hus. Aguté (lin. Toine, village Koumotibo) ÷ † in 1957
○ Bándyo 1939
○ Magi 1941, raised by her mother
△ K... 1947, raised by the grand man Difu in Boniville
4th hus. Kédé taken again.

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·· ○ **Aligae 1921** P1, F47
mo. Ayako †
fa. raised by her mother
1st hus. Flatimau (Dju, F8, Bonivillo) +
△ † at 2 mos. 1935
△ Tase 1940, raised by his father in Bonivillo
○ E... 1947, raised by her mother
2d hus. Ernest (Aw. li. 1, K25, village Asisi)
△ A... 1950, raised by Apikuru

·· ○ **Bebe 1934** P1, F19
mo. Oben ← Ela
fa. Poepu (Dipêlo 11) raised by Oben
hus. Pikinioala (L1, E3, village Lepé Tobiki) since 1951
no children

○ **Bèndjo 1930** P1, F12
mo. Asenton ← Ela
fa. Ageli † (l. Toine) raised by Ma Toine
hus. Alichi (Dip. 1, F5, Bonivillo)
no children

·· ○ **Bundi 1936** P1, G42
mo. Apitaku ← Ayaka
fa. Kwato (K) ← △ Loka † raised by Kukusa (Asisi), sis. of Loka
hus. Fanwé (Dju, F19, village Asisi-Dju)
○ E... 1956

· ○ **Bèni 1923** P1, F7
mo. Asenton ← Ela
fa. Adiino (Dju) raised by Asenton
hus. Apuye (lia. Toine, village Papakton)
△ P... 1943
○ † at 2 yrs.
○ † at 1 yr.
△ A... 1954
△ B... 1955
○ A... 1957

△ **Bado 1940** P1, G43
mo. Agibata ← Ayako †
fa. Kwato raised by his father

△ **Bado 1933** P1, F11
mo. Asenton ← Ela
fa. Kédé (Dip. 11) raised by Tafuné, his mo.'s hus.
raising △ T... 1953, son of his sister Kokoyo

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** ○ **Dagi 1930** Pl, G40
mo. Apikutu ← Ayaka †
fa. Kwata (K) raised by Ayaka †
hus. Tamo (L1, F22, village Loka) ✢
△ N... 1950, raised by ○ Peaka, his father's mother, in village Loka
△ † 1953-1954

△ **Baila 1929** Pl, F19
mo. Oben ← Efa
fa. Poupe (Aniakè) (Dip. II) raised by Tolinga, his mo.'s bro.

** ○ **Efa 1875** Pl, D4
mo. Gabonda †
fa.
1st hus. Fanté ([illegible], Bonneville) †
△ Umassone † at 2 yrs.
{ ○ Asanton 1900
{ △ twin † in a few months
2d hus. Dupau (Dju, Asisi) ✢
△ Tolinga 1901
△ Tabanié 1903
○ Oben 1905
○ A... † 1909-1909
3d hus. Adoudé (L1, Loka) †
○ Kauman 1912
△ Gaimo 1916
△ Yusu 1920

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* ○ **Bailla 1907** Pl, F3
mo. Oadia †
fa.
1st hus. Pilipiti (Aw. B. 1, F3, village Asisi) ✢ raised by Agodèba
2d hus. Loka (Dju, F39, village Asisi-Dju)
sterile

△ **Gaimo 1916** Pl, E15
mo. Efa
fa. Dupau (Dju) † raised by his bro. Tolinga

** **Gau 1927** Pl, F8
mo. Asanton ← Efa
fa. Adikan (Dju) raised by △ Agodèba
1st hus. Akwali (Dip. II, Koranotibo) ✢ 1952
○ A... 1946, }
△ A... 1948, } raised by their mother
○ E... 1950 }
○ P... 1954 }
2d hus. Bébu (K) ✢
has not lost any children

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** ○ **Hélène** 1910 P1, F2
mo. Oséla †
fa. raised by Efa
1st hus. Alémin (Aw. II. 1, E40, village Asisi) ÷
2d hus. Marpe (Dip. I, F52, village L'Enfant Perdu)
3d hus. Balihi (Dip. II, F5, Kormotibo)
△ C... 1953
△ L... 1956

** ○ **Kaman** 1912 P1, E14
mo. Efa
fa. Adaudé † (L.) raised by her father Adaudé
1st hus. Papay †
2d hus. Yémron (Dip. I, E22, village l'Enfant Perdu)
△ T... 1949, raised by Tafanié
3d hus. Adam (lin. Tolna, village Papaïtan)
○ A... 1956
○ † at 4 mos. 1957
raising ○ E... 1942, mo. Oben

** ○ **Kaluyo** 1929 P1, F9
mo. Asenias
fa. Adiloo (Dju, Asisi)
1st hus. Baima (Dip. II, Asisi) ÷ 1952
△ † in a few months
○ A... 1948, raised by her mother
△ T... 1951, raised by Dodo, his mother's bro.
2d hus. Glyom ÷ in 1954
3d hus. Tiago (L.1, F26, village Loka)

○ **Kumasa** 1937 P1, G1
mo. Wilhelmina ← Oséla
fa. Mangoto (L. Tolna) raised by her mother
married to Balanzi (L. Loka) 1954
△ A... 1954

△ **Kwaku** 1894 P1, F60
mo. Aynka †
fa. lives at Benzdorp

○ **Magi** 1941 P1, F13
mo. Asenias ← Efa
fa. Aguli (Dip. II) raised by her mother
hus. Afouyé (L.1, F11, village Loka)

** ○ **Heleen** 1922 P1, G41
mo. Aplikalo
fa. Kwata (K) raised by her mother
hus. Mase (Dip. II, E3, Kormotibo)
○ H... 1953
△ E... 1955

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△ [illegible] 1880 lineage Toma (BAKABUCHI)
mo. Toma ← [illegible]
fa. Agodébo (?)

** ○ [illegible] 1927 P1, F20
mo. Oben ← Efa
fa. Poope (Anialé) (Dip. II) raised by Efa
hus. Tôlon (L1, E3, village Loka)
△ W... 1954, raised by Eito, his fa.'s mo., in the vill. of Loka

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** ○ Oben 1906 P1, E13
mo. Efa
fa. Dopau † (Dju)
1st hus. Poope (Dip. II, E7, village Kormotibo) +
△ Dodo 1929
△ † at 3 yrs. 1931-34
○ [illegible] 1933
○ †at 2 days 1935
○ [illegible] 1937
○ Akoeman 1939
○ N... 1942, raised by Kamen, her mo.'s sis.
○ S... 1944, raised by her mother
2d hus. Pood (L1, F20, village Loka)
△ O... 1950, raised by his father in Loka
△ T... 1952

** ○ Gadi 1928 P1, F49
mo. Ayaka †
fa. Waldai (BAKABUCHI) raised by her father
hus. Gaman (Aw. B. 1, F7, village Asisi)
△ † 1945-1947
○ F... 1948, raised by Titi, her fa.'s mo., in Asisi
△ B... 1949, raised by his father in Asisi
△ † 1950, dead in 1 week
○ E... 1951
△ D... 1956

** ○ Pali 1906 P2, F71
mo. Alabiayé †
fa.
1st hus. Dabi +
2d hus. Mussé (K) +
3d hus. Matjan (Dip. 1, F92, Village L'Enfant Perdu)
sterile

△ Soman 1895 (?) P1, E7
mo. Sen †
fa. Samaleba (Dikan) †
raising ○ A... 1945, daughter of Baboy (K)

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○ Susan 1937 lineage Toina (BAKABUCHI)
mo. Apuolobi
fa. Atéui (Dip. II) raised by Tofiti, 3d wife of her fa.
hus. Allbi (Dju)
○ † 1 week 1957 (Jan.)
card incomplete

△ Tolenté 1903 P1, E12
mo. Efa
fa. Dapen †
raising ○ A... 1945, mo. Naman (P1, G60) & △ T... 1949, mo. Kaman

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△ Tagié 1936 lineage Toina (BAKABUCHI)
mo. Apuolobi
fa. Apoyo (P) †

** ○ Toina 1870 BAKABUCHI
mo. Mastaaman ← Kunchibo
fa.
1st hus. Gadable ✦ †
○ Pochi 1896
△ Mangelo 1898
△ Apoyo 1901
○ † at 2 yrs. 1903-1905
○ † Koko 1905-1943
2d hus. Masol ✦ †
3d hus. Agodébo (P1, E1, village Papaïchton)

△ Tolinga 1901 P1, E11
mo. Efa
fa. Dapen (Dju) † raised by Adam †, his mo. 's bro.

○ Wilhelmina 1915 P1, F1
mo. Oséla †
fa. raised by her mother
1st hus. Mangelo (l. Toina) ✦
○ Kumala 1937
2d hus. Atyéntye †
△ A... 1942, raised by his mother
△△ †† in a few days 1943
1 child † in a few days 1945
3d hus. Bóse (Aw. B. 1, F17, Asiel)
○ S... 1947, raised by her mother
△ K... 1950, raised by Kabyé, his fa. 's mo., in Asiel
△ G... 1953
△ B... 1955
△ G... 1957

△ Tese 1905 P1, E16
mo. Efa
fa.
raising △ A... 1940, mo. Kiseau (K, Doniville)

/363/

113

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Goeje, Ch. de and van Lier, W. F. *Aaniekeningen over het geestelijk leven en de samenleving der Djoeka's (Aukaner Bosnegers) in Suriname* (notes on the spiritual life and the society of the Djuka in Surinam). *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, Vol. 99, 1940.

Herskovits, M. J. *The Social organization of the Bush Negroes of Suriname*. Congrès International des Américanistes /International Congress of Americanists/ XXIII, 713-727, New York, 1928.

Herskovits, M. J. and F. S. *Rebel Destiny*. *Among the bush negroes of Dutch Guyana*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York and London, 1934.

113 /363 cont./

Kahn, Morton C. Djuka. The bush negroes of Dutch Guiana. New York, 1931.

Wong, E. Hoofdenverkiezing, stamverdeeling en stamverspreiding der Boschnegers van Suriname in de 18^{o} en 19^{o} eeuw (elections of heads, spread and division of the Refugee Black tribes in Surinam in the 18th and 19th centuries). Bijtragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 97, 1938.

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[114] Editor's Note. -- An additional note by the same author, summarizing the data acquired on the origin of the various African survivals of the Refugee Blacks, will appear in the IFAN Bulletin, series B, volume XXIV, 1962.

*162

*601

*613

*614

C1 (p. 555)
C2 (p. 556)
C3 (p. 557)

Chart of Positions of End Chart C (Genealogy of the Dipelu II Lo and the Afi lineage) /facing p. 555/

*162

*601

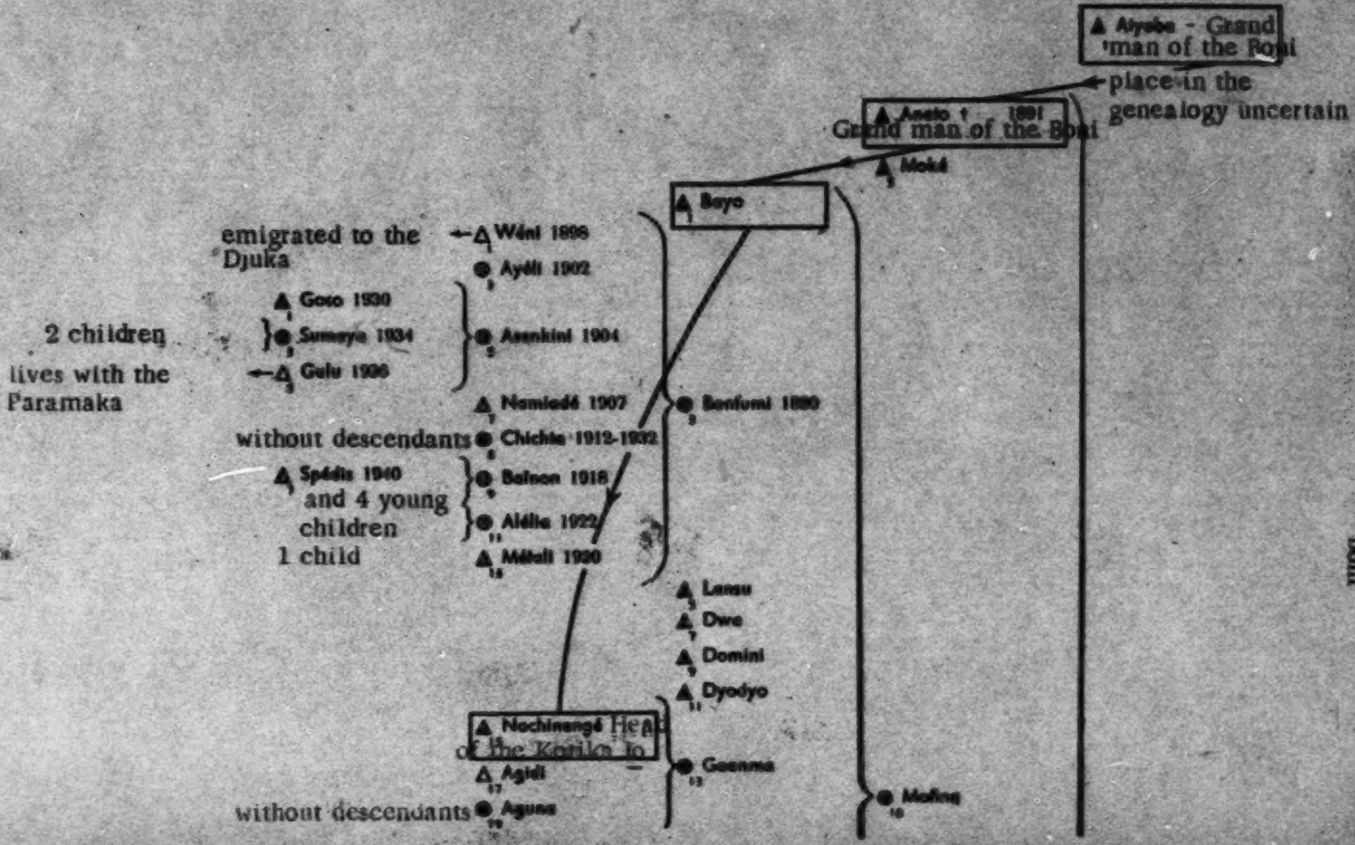
*613

*614

A1 (p. 542)
A2 (p. 543)
A3 (p. 544)
A4 (p. 545)
A5 (p. 546)
A6 (P. 547)
A7 (p. 548)
A8 (p. 549)

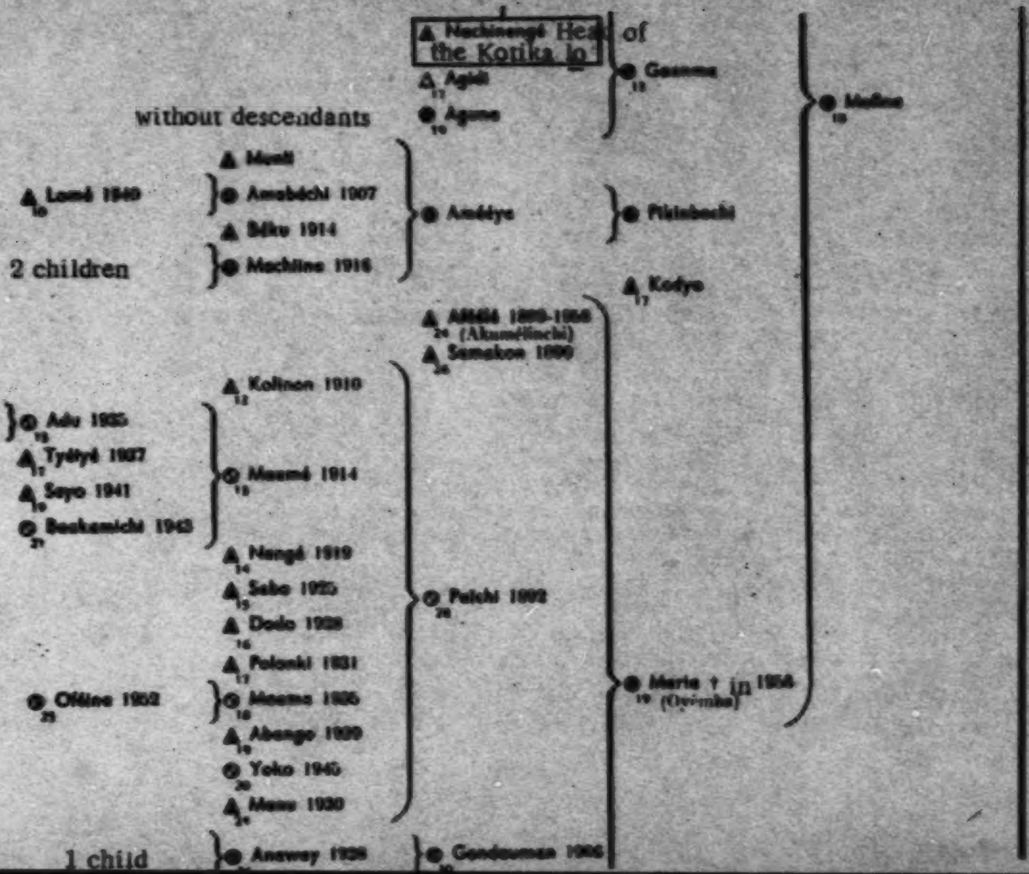
Chart of Positions of End Chart A (Genealogy of the Yakabi (Kotika))Lo /facing p. 542/

*601
*613
*614
*162


Atyaba - Grand man of the Boni
place in the genealogy uncertain
Aneto † 1891
Grand man of the Boni
Moké
Boyo
emigrated to the Djuka
Wéni 1898
Ayéli 1902
Goso 1930
2 children
Sumaya 1934
lives with the Paramaka
Gulu 1936
Asenkini 1904
Namiedé 1907
Benfumi 1880
without descendants
Chichia 1912-1932
Spédis 1940
and 4 young children
Bainon 1918
Alélia 1922
1 child
Métali 1930
Lansu
Dwe
Domini
Dyodyo
Nochinangé Head of the Kotika lo
Gaanma
Agidi
without descendants
Aguna
Mofina

[End Chart - A]

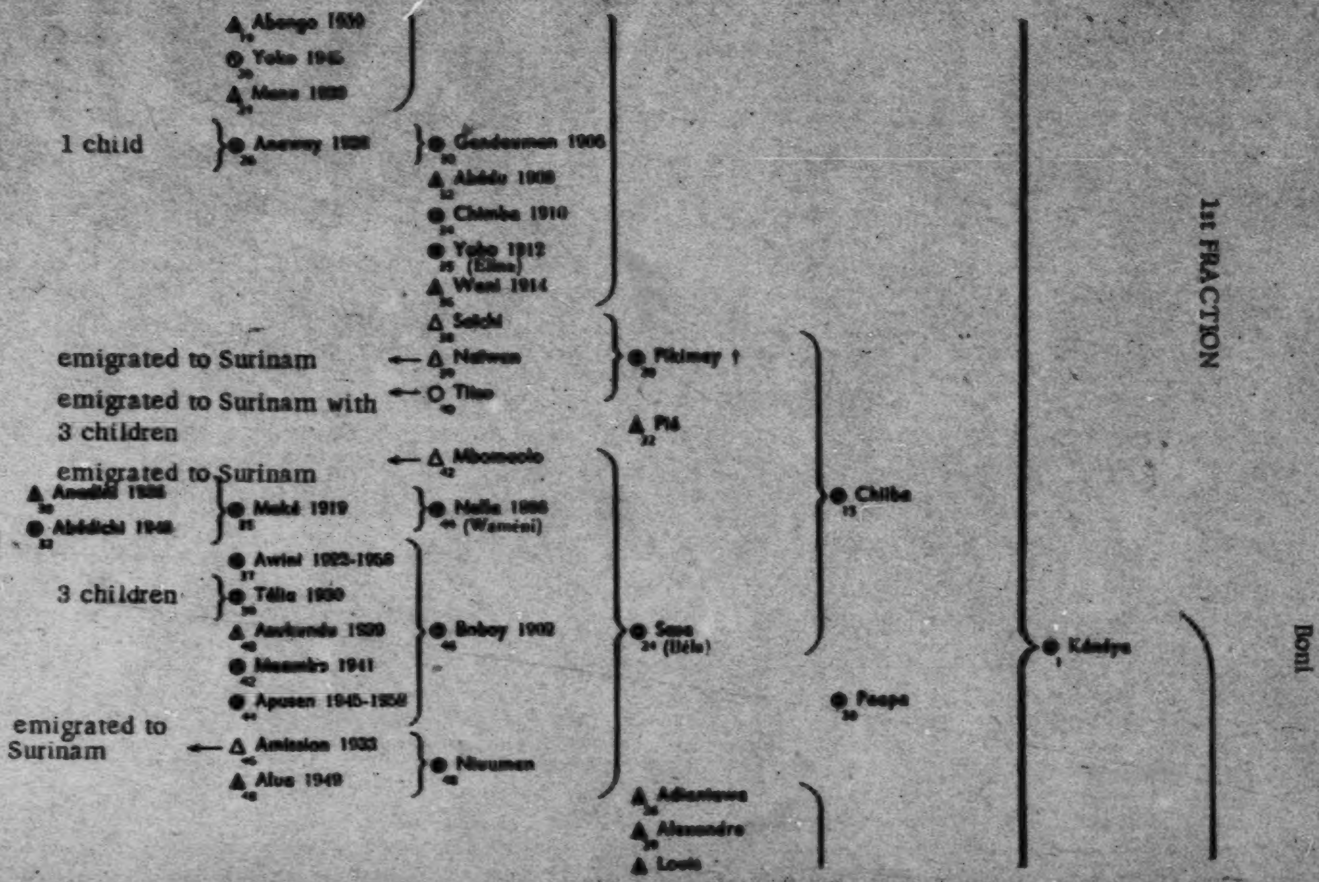
*601
*613
*614
*162


Nachinengé Head of the Korika lo
Agidi
Agumo
Gaanma
Madina
without descendants
Munti
Lomé 1940
Amabéchi 1907
Béku 1914
Amédye
Pikinbechi
2 children
Machiine 1916
Kodyo
Abódi 1869-1958
(Akumélinchi)
Samakon 1890
Kolinon 1910
3 children
Adu 1935
Tyétyé 1937
Maamé 1914
Sayo 1941
Baakamichi 1943
Nangé 1919
Saba 1925
Paichi 1892
Dodo 1928
Polonki 1931
Marie † in 1958
(Oyimba)
Ofiine 1952
Maama 1926
Abango 1929
Yoko 1945
Manu 1930
1 child
Anaway 1928
Gandauman 1906

[End Chart-A2]

#601
#613
#614
*162

6:Hurault--544: K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

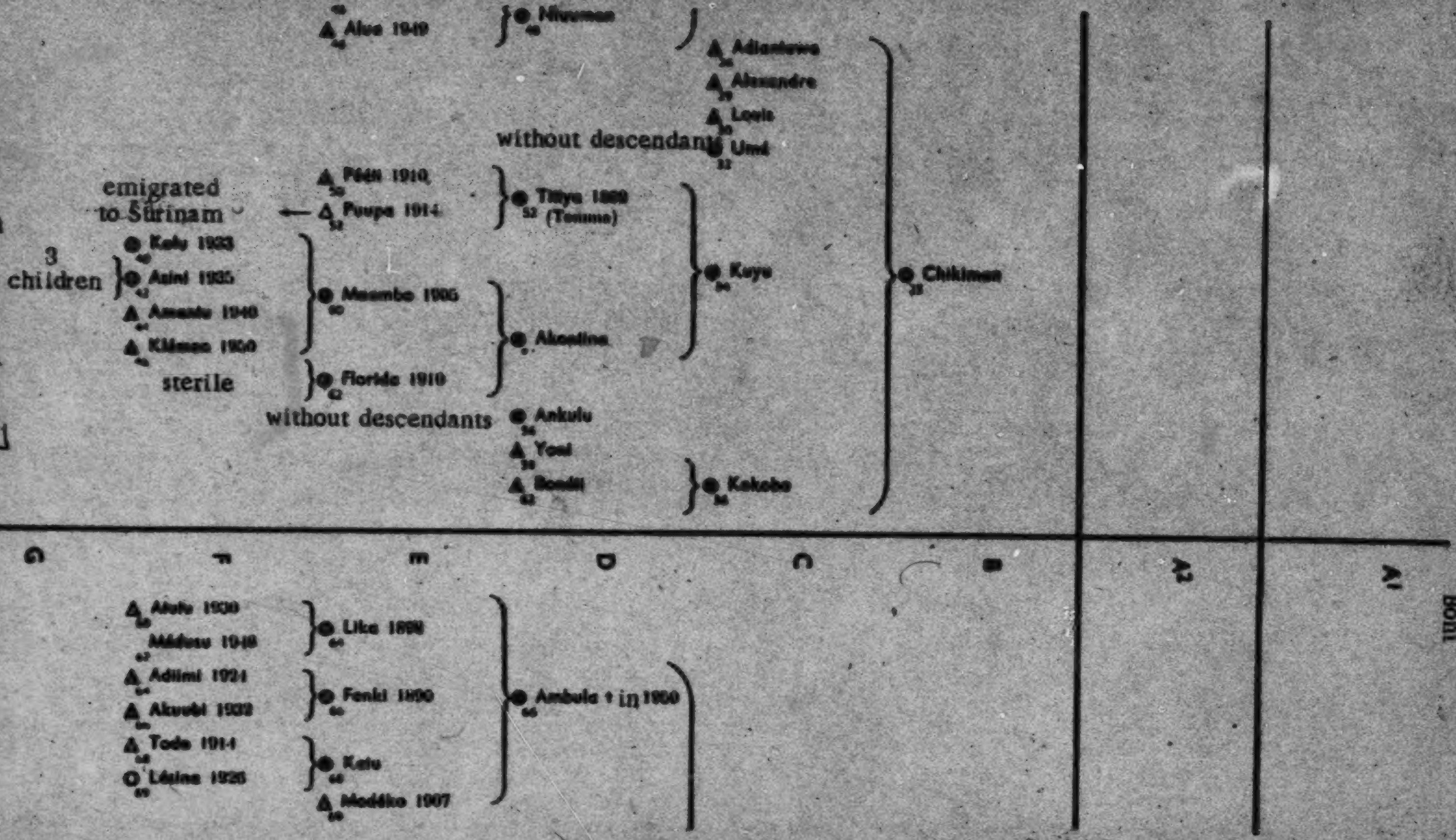

Boni
1st FRACTION
Kändyu
Chilba
Paapa
Pikimey †
Pià
Sasa (Ilélu)
Adianiawa
Alexandre
Louis
Gandouman 1906
Abédu 1908
Chimba 1910
Yoko 1912 (Elima)
Wani 1914
Saïchi
Nafwan
Tiao
Mbomoolo
Nella 1896 (Wameni)
Boboy 1902
Nieuman
Abongo 1939
Yoko 1945
Mana 1930
Anemy 1928
Maké 1919
Awini 1923-1956
Télia 1930
Aankundu 1930
Masambia 1941
Apusen 1945-1958
Amission 1933
Alue 1949
Amadiki 1938
Abédichi 1948
1 child
emigrated to Surinam
emigrated to Surinam with 3 children
emigrated to Surinam
3 children
emigrated to Surinam

[End Chart - A3]

6:Hurault--515. X-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

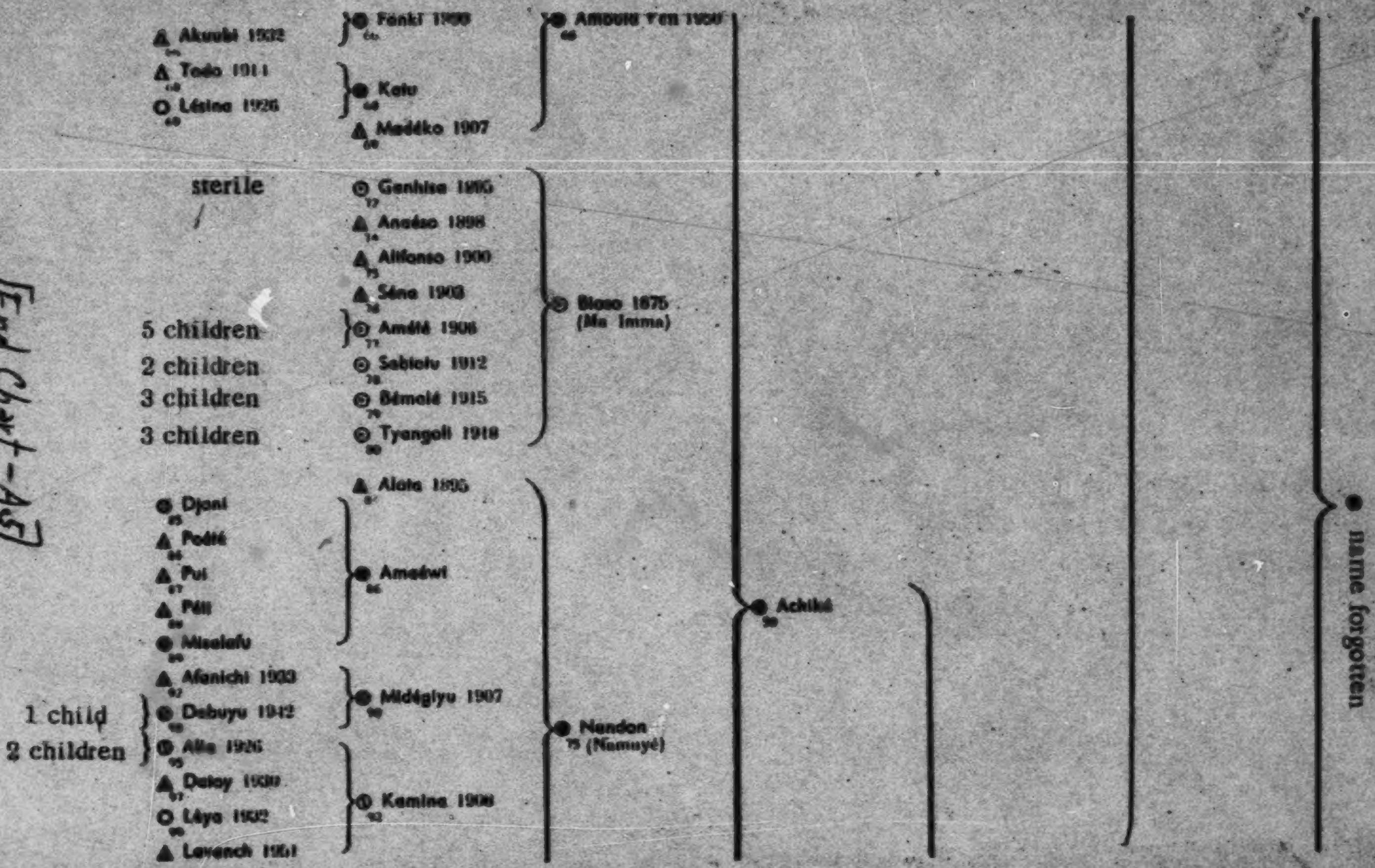
*601
*613
*614
*162


Alue 1949
Niuuman
Adiantewa
Alexandre
Louis
without descendants
Umi
Péèti 1910
Puupa 1914
emigrated to Surinam
Tiitya 1889 (Tomma)
Kuyu
Chikiman
Kalu 1933
Asini 1935
3 children
Amantu 1940
Kliman 1950
Maambo 1906
Akonlina
Florida 1910
sterile
without descendants
Ankulu
Yosi
Bondit
Kokobo
G
F
E
D
C
B
A2
A1
Alufu 1930
Médusu 1948
Like 1898
Adiimi 1924
Akuubi 1932
Fenki 1890
Ambula † in 1950
Todo 1914
Lésina 1926
Kalu
Modéko 1907

[End Chart - A14]

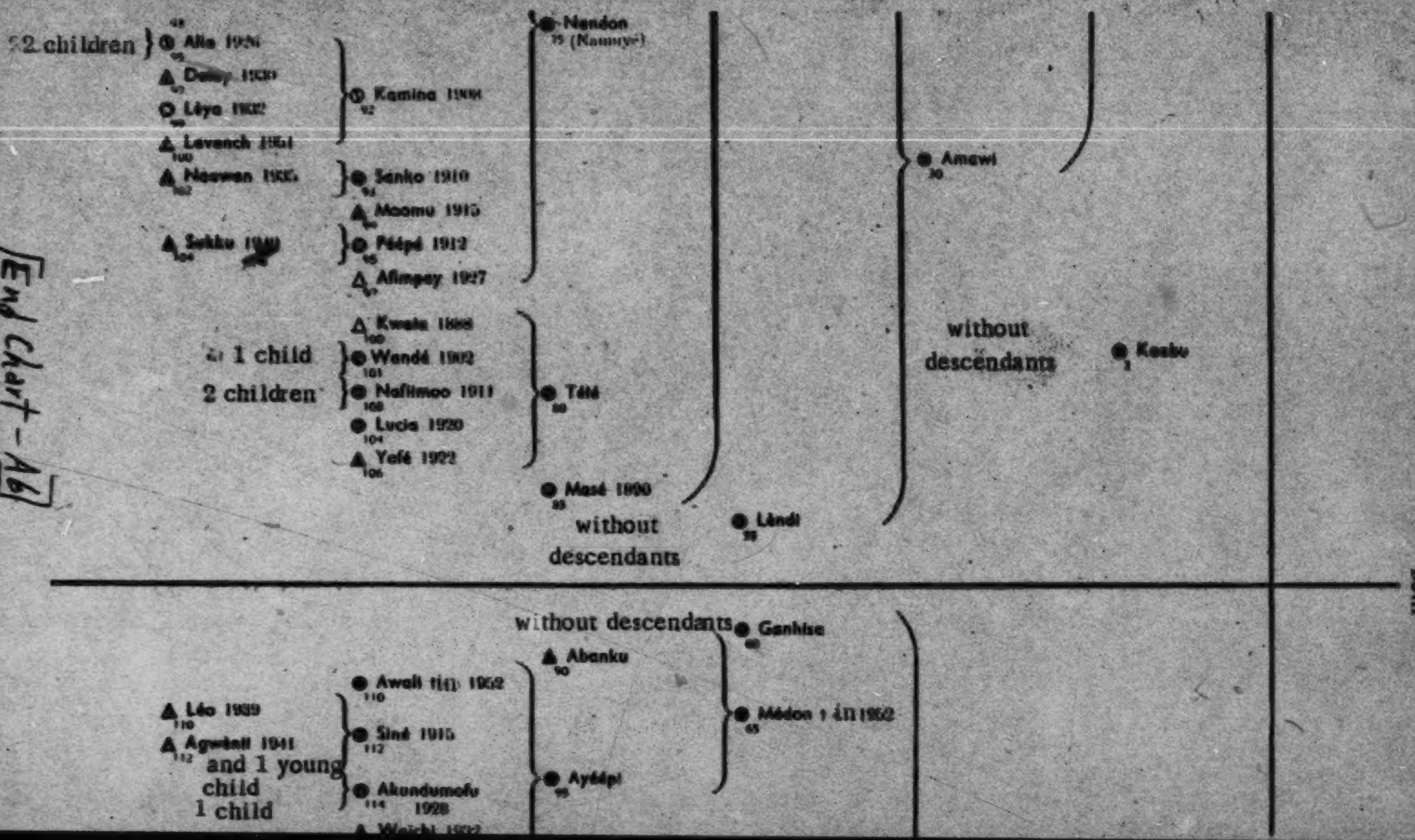
#601
#613
#614
#162

2nd FRACTION


name forgotten
Achiké
Ambuulu Yeli 1850
Blaso 1875
(Ma Imma)
Nandon
(Namuyé)
Fänki 1900
Katu
Madéko 1907
Genhise 1895
Anaéso 1898
Alifonso 1900
Séna 1903
Amélé 1906
Sabiolu 1912
Bémolé 1915
Tyangoli 1918
Alata 1895
Amaéwi
Midégiyu 1907
Kamina 1908
Akuubi 1932
Todo 1911
Lésina 1926
sterile
5 children
2 children
3 children
3 children
Djani
Podéé
Pui
Péli
Misalafu
Afanichi 1933
Dabuyu 1942
Alla 1926
Daloy 1930
Léya 1932
Lavench 1961
1 child
2 children

[End Chart-A5]

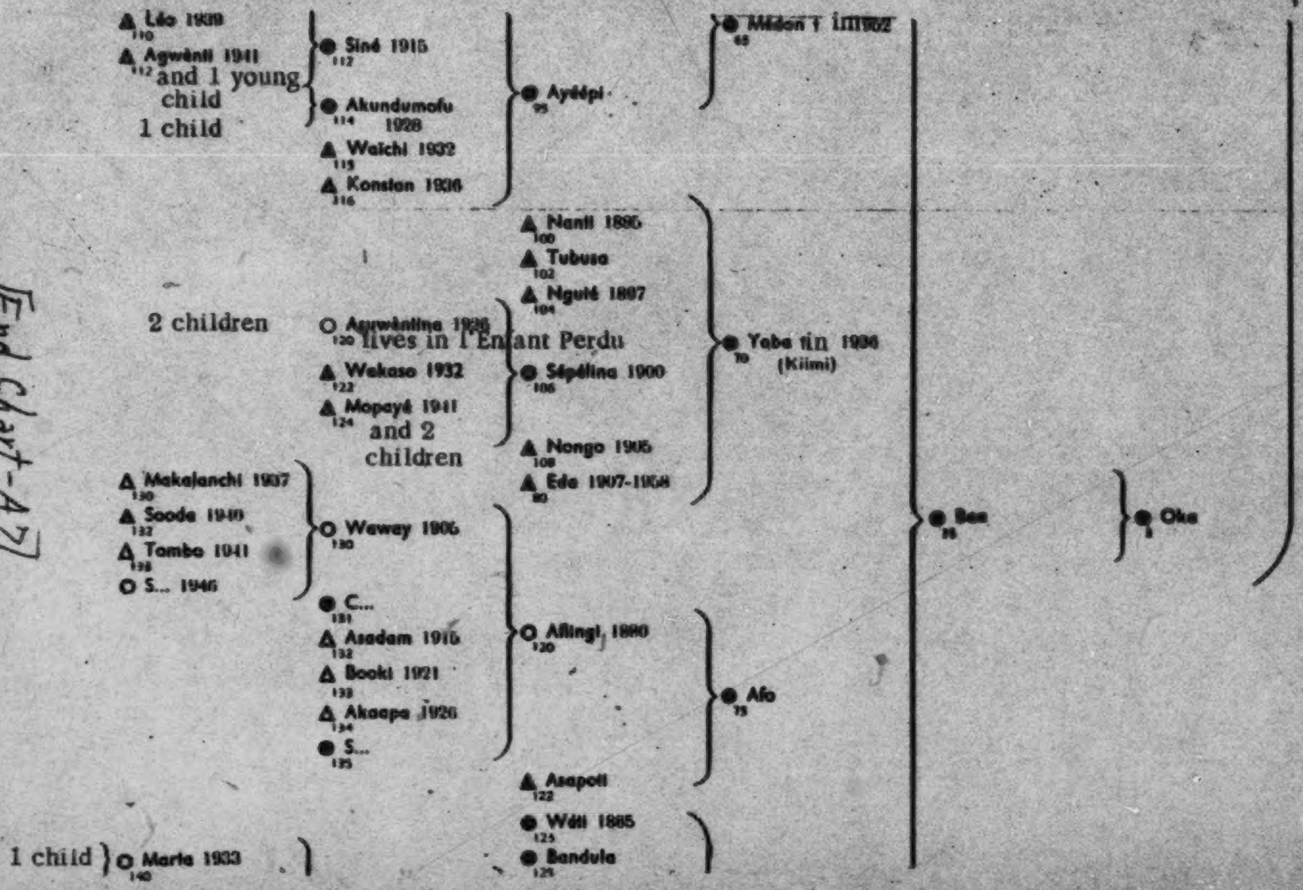
#601
#613
#614
#162


22 children
Alia 1936
Daisy 1939
Léya 1932
Levench 1934
Naawan 1935
Sekku 1940
Kamina 1908
92
Sanko 1910
Maamu 1915
Péépé 1912
Afimpay 1927
Nendon
75 (Namuyé)
Kwata 1888
1 child
Wandé 1902
101
2 children
Nafiimoo 1911
Lucia 1920
104
Yafé 1922
106
Tété
Masé 1890
without descendants
Lèndi
Amawi
30
without descendants
Kaabu
Boni
without descendants
Ganhise
Abanku
90
Awali 1952
110
Léo 1939
110
Agwéali 1941
112
and 1 young child
Siné 1915
112
Akundumofu 1928
114
1 child
Aydépi
Médon in 1952
65
Weichi 1932

[End Chart - A6]

*601
*613
*614
*162

● 3rd FRACTION


Oke
Ben
Médon
65
Ayéépi
95
Siné 1915
112
Akundumofu 1928
114
Léo 1939
110
Agwènti 1941
112
and 1 young child
1 child
Waichi 1932
115
Konstan 1936
116
Nanti 1895
100
Tubusa
102
Nguté 1897
104
Yaba tin 1896 (Kiimi)
70
Sépélina 1900
106
Agwèntina 1926
120
lives in l'Enfant Perdu
2 children
Wakaso 1932
122
Mopayé 1941
124
and 2 children
Nongo 1905
108
Eda 1907-1958
80
Waway 1906
130
Makalanchi 1937
130
Soode 1940
132
Tombo 1941
138
S... 1946
C...
131
Asadam 1916
132
Booki 1921
133
Akaapa 1926
134
S...
135
Afingi 1880
120
Afo
75
Asapoti
122
Wéti 1885
125
Bandula
125
Marta 1933
140
1 child

[End Chart-A7]

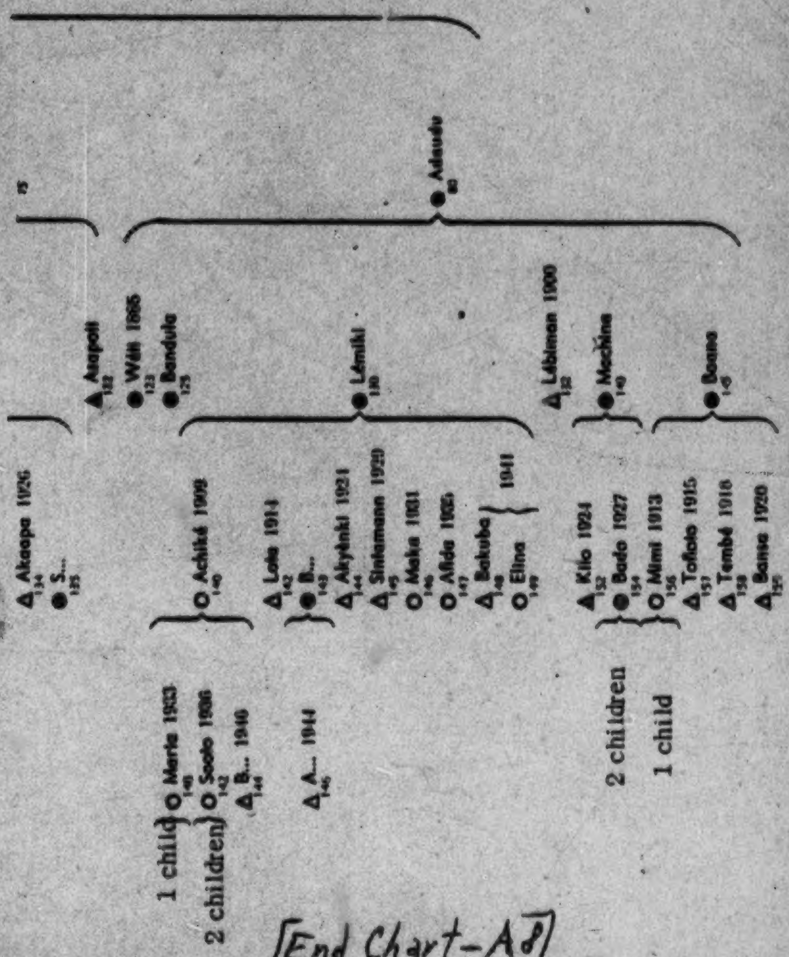
6:Hurault--549 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162

GENEALOGY OF THE YAKUBI (KOTIKA) LO)
(KOTIKA AND BONIVILLE VILLAGES)

IN JANUARY 1958

▨ Kotika
▭ Boniville
⧄ Abounasounga
⊡ Habitations on the estuary
■ Dead
▭ Isolated in the midst of other lineages
▭ Emigrated for good


75
Δ Akaapa 1926 134
● S... 135
Δ Asapoti 132
● Wäti 1885 123
● Bandula 125
● Adaudu 80
1 child
O Marta 1933 141
2 children
O Saalo 1936 142
Δ B... 1940 144
O Achiké 1909 140
Δ Lola 1914 142
● B... 143
Δ A... 1944 145
Δ Akyénki 1921 144
Δ Sintamann 1929 145
O Maka 1931 146
O Afida 1935 147
Δ Bakuba 148
O Elina 149
1941
● Lémiki 130
Δ Lébiman 1900 132
Δ Kilo 1924 152
● Bado 1927 154
O Mimi 1913 156
● Machina 140
2 children
1 child
Δ Toñoto 1915 157
Δ Tembé 1918 158
Δ Bansa 1920 159
● Boana 145

[End Chart-A8]

*162

*601

*613

*614

B1 (p. 550)
B2 (p. 551)
B3 (p. 552)
B4 (p. 553)
B5 (p. 554)

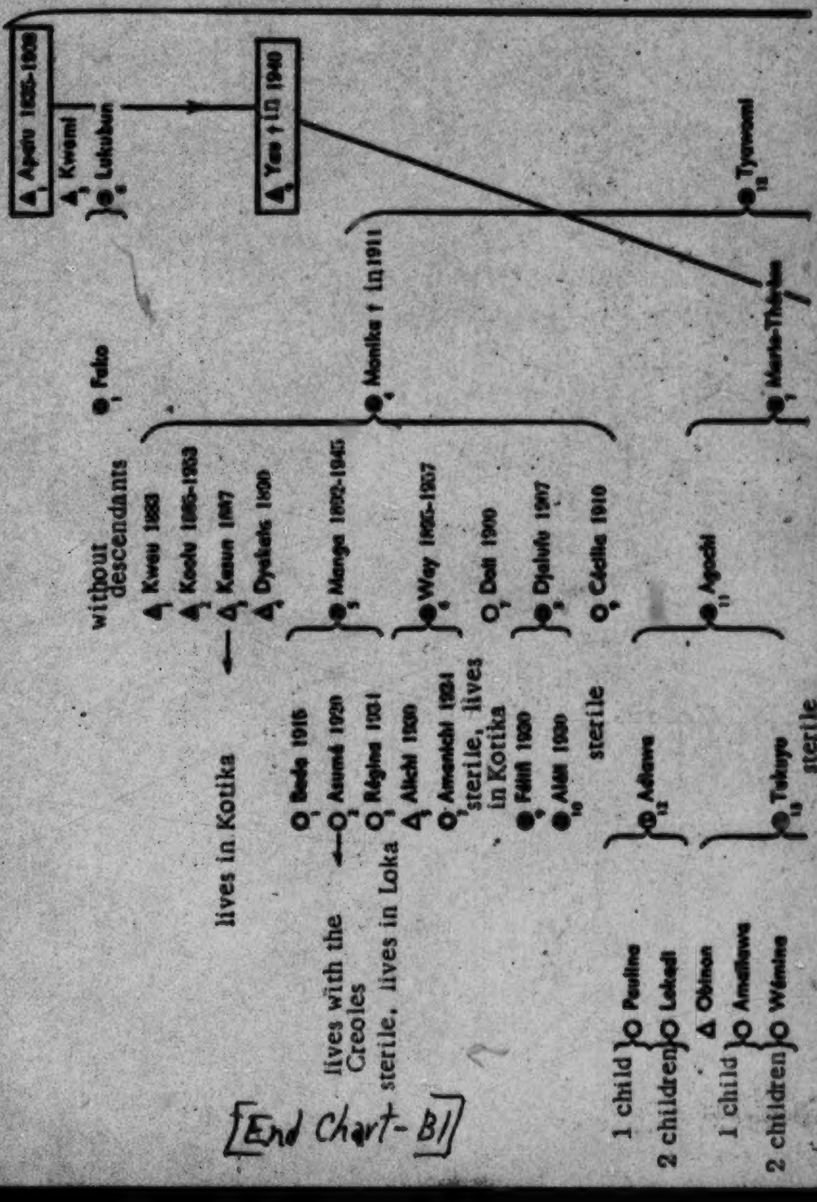
Chart of Positions of End Chart B (Genealogy of the Dipelu I Lo) /facing p. 550/

6:Hurault-- 550 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162

GENEALOGY OF THE DIPELU 1 LO
(APATU AND L'ENFANT PERDU VILLAGES)
IN JANUARY 1958

▨ Apatu
■ L'Enfant Perdu
▭ Boniville
■ Dead
▭ Isolated in the midst of other lineages
▭ Emigrated for good

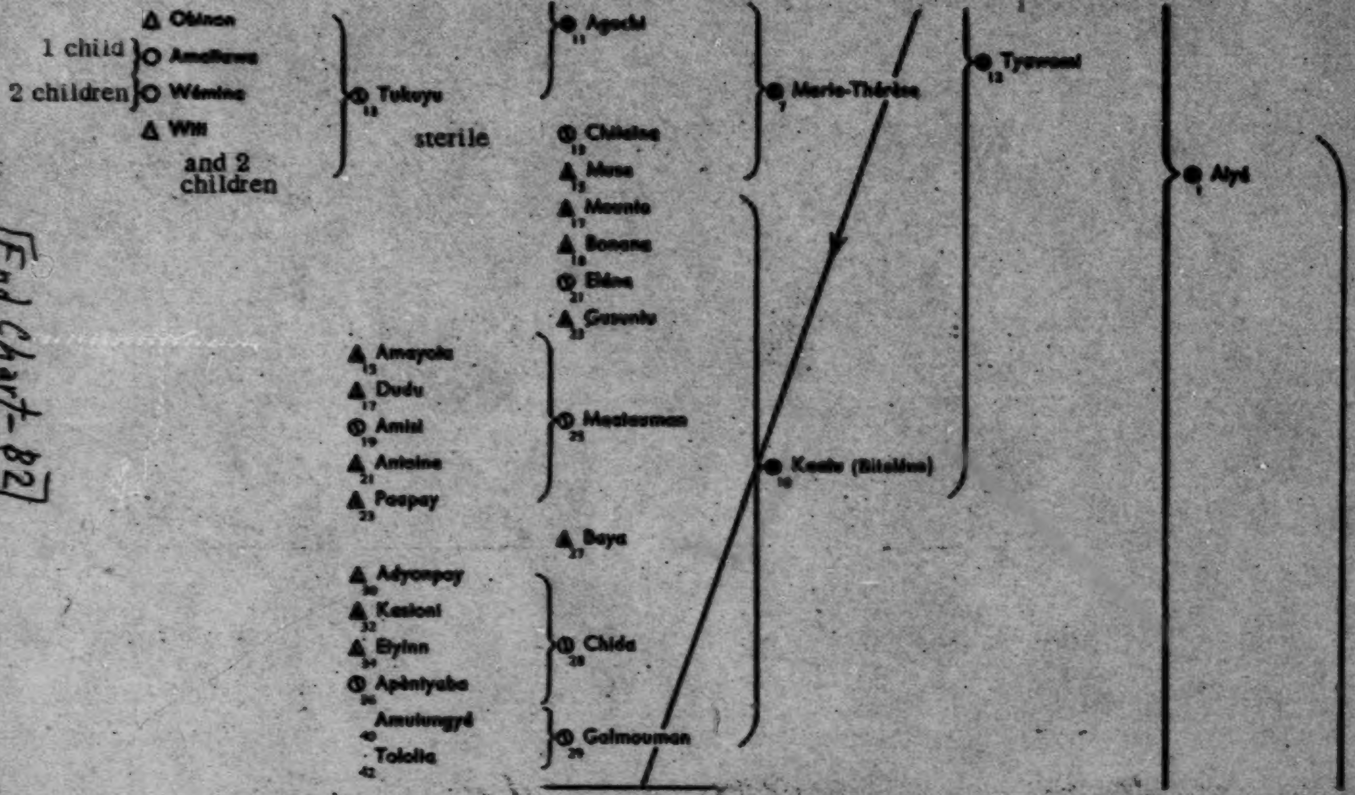

Apatu 1835-1908
Kwami
Lukubun
Yau † in 1940
Fako
without descendants
Kweu 1883
Koolu 1885-1953
lives in Kotika
Kasun 1887
Dyakels 1890
Monika † in 1911
Manga 1892-1945
Bedo 1915
lives with the Creoles
Asumé 1920
sterile, lives in Loka
Régina 1931
Way 1895-1957
Alichi 1930
Amanichi 1924
sterile, lives in Kotika
Doli 1900
Djalufu 1907
Félifi 1930
Aléti 1930
sterile
Cécilia 1910
Tyawami
Marie-Thérèse
Agochi
Adiawa
1 child
Paulina
2 children
Lokadi
Obinon
Tukuyu
sterile
1 child
Amaliawa
2 children
Wémina
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13

[End Chart-B1]

6:Hurault--651 K-5 (1948-1968) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

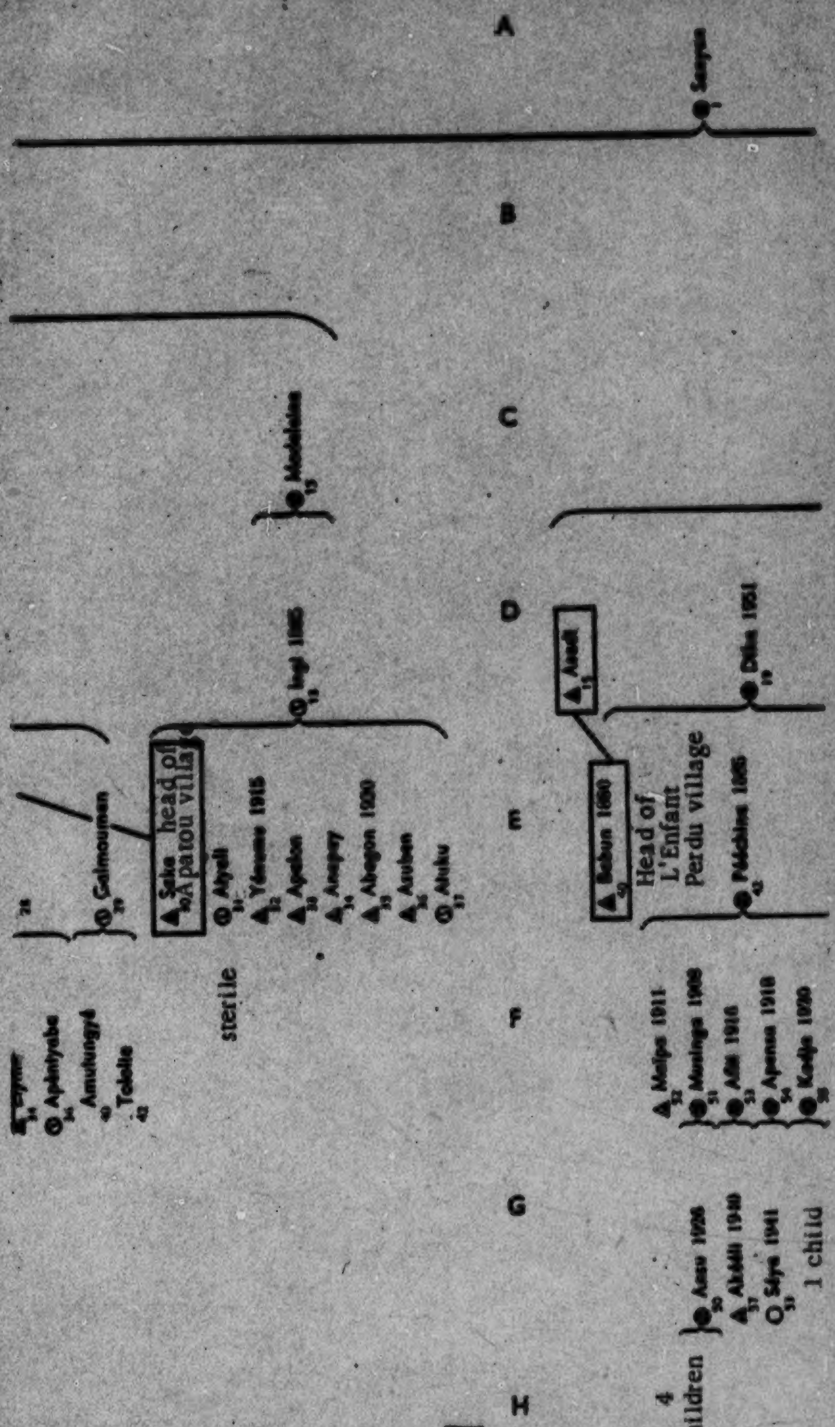
boni

* 601
* 613
* 614
* 762


Obinon
1 child
Amaliawa
2 children
Wémina
Witi
and 2 children
Tukuyu
18
sterile
Agochi
11
Chikaina
13
Muse
15
Mounto
17
Bonana
18
Eléna
21
Gusunlu
23
Amayola
15
Dudu
17
Amisi
19
Antoine
21
Paspay
23
Meatauman
25
Baya
27
Adyonpay
30
Kasiani
32
Etyinn
34
Apântyaba
36
Amulungyé
40
Tolotia
42
Chida
28
Galmouman
29
Marie-Thérèse
7
Kasiu (Bitaldus)
10
Tyawani
13
Aiyé
1

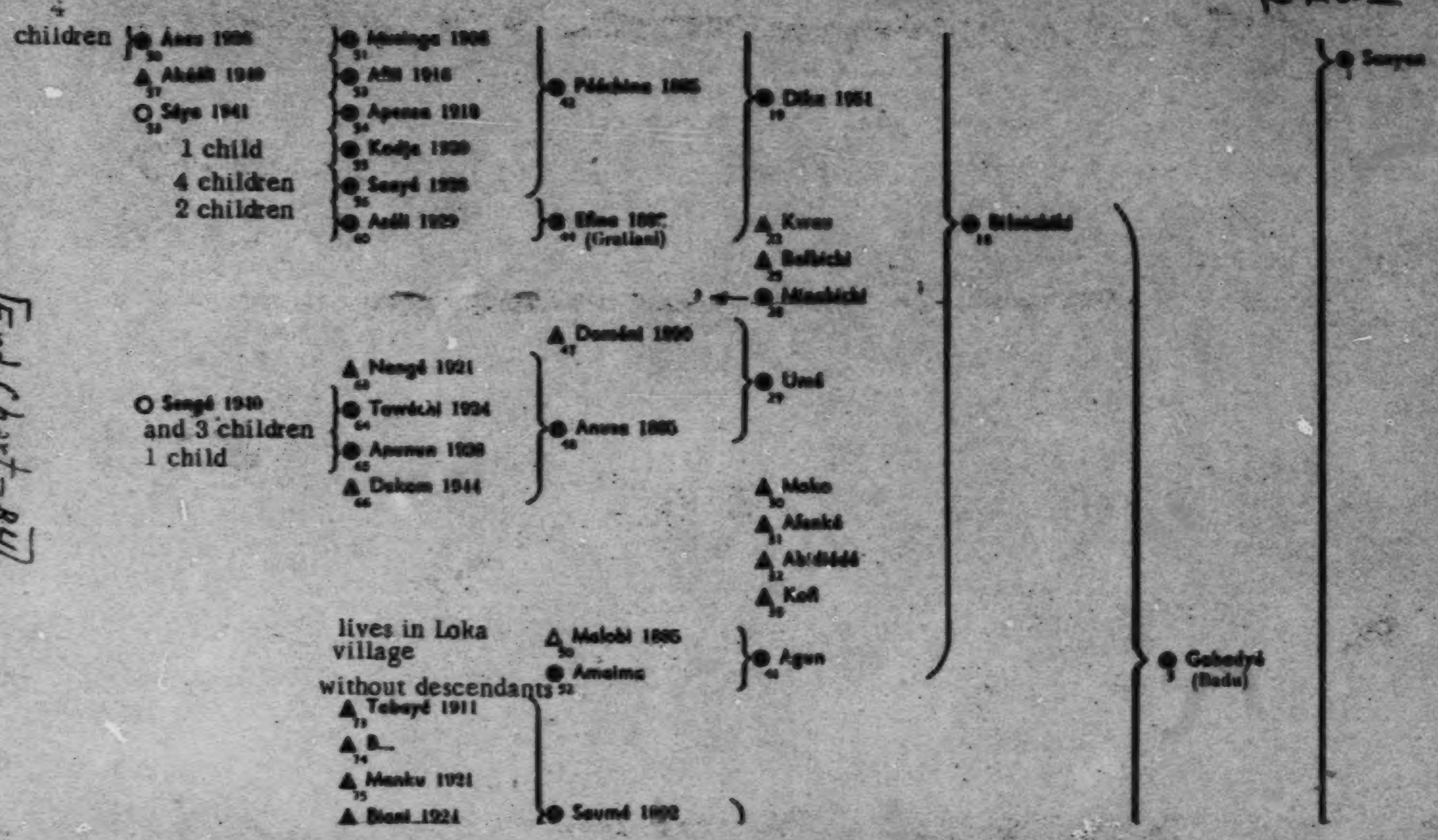
[End Chart-82]

+601
*613
*614
*162


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
Madeleine 13
Ingi 1885 18
Dika 1951 19
Asadi 15
Galmouman 29
28
Seke 30 head of Apatou village
Atyali 31
Yéoume 1915 32
Apelon 33
Anapay 34
Abegon 1920 35
Azuben 36
Aluku 37
Babun 1880 40
Head of L'Enfant Perdu village
Pédchina 1885 42
sterile
Apântyabe 34
Amulungyé 40
Tolelie 42
Meipa 1911 52
Musinga 1908 51
Afiti 1916 53
Apensa 1918 54
Kodja 1920 58
Assu 1926 50
Akôdi 1940 57
Séya 1941 53
4 children
1 child

[End Chart—83]

*601
*613
*614
*162

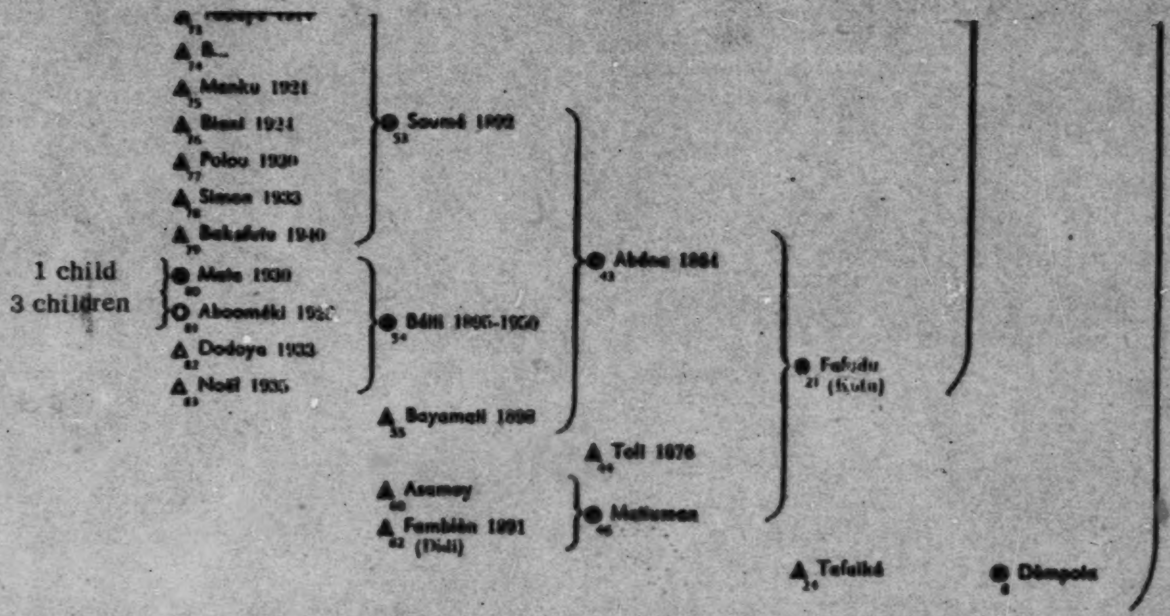

4 children
Ánen 1936
36
Akádi 1940
37
Sáya 1941
38
1 child
4 children
2 children
Masinga 1908
51
Afiti 1916
53
Apeman 1918
54
Kodja 1920
55
Saayé 1926
56
Asáli 1929
60
Péáchina 1885
42
Éfina 1887
44
(Graliani)
Díka 1951
19
Kwau
22
Bofáchi
25
Mináchi
28
Bilandichi
18
Damani 1890
47
Nengé 1921
63
O Sengé 1940
and 3 children
1 child
Towáchi 1924
64
Apaman 1928
65
Dakam 1944
66
Anana 1885
48
Umá
29
Moko
30
Afanká
31
Abidiádá
32
Kofi
33
lives in Loka
village
without descendants
Malobi 1885
50
Amaima
52
Agun
46
Gabadyé
3
(Badu)
Tabayé 1911
73
B...
74
Manku 1921
75
Biani 1924
Saumé 1892
Sunyan
1

[End Chart-84]

B:Hurault--552 . K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

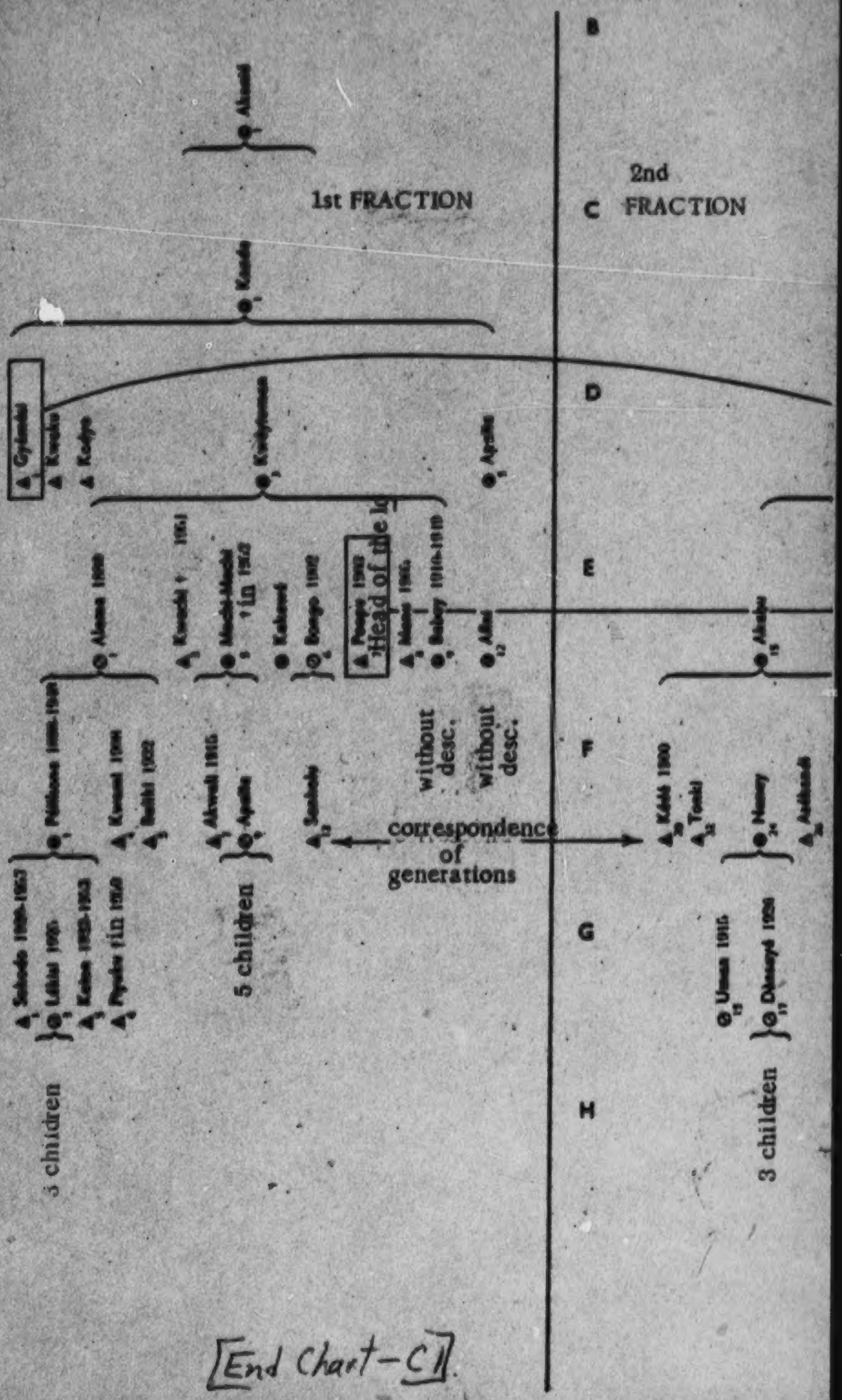
*601
*613
*614
*162



73
74 B...
75 Manku 1921
76 Biani 1924
77 Polou 1930
78 Simon 1933
79 Bakafutu 1940
1 child
3 children
80 Mate 1930
81 Aboomáki 1932
82 Dodoya 1933
83 Noël 1935
53 Sounè 1902
54 Dáiti 1906-1950
55 Bayamali 1898
60 Asamoy
62 Fambiân 1891
(Didi)
43 Abéna 1864
44 Toli 1876
46 Matiuman
21 Fafudu
(Kula)
24 Tafulká
8 Dámpoia

End Chart-B5

*601
*613
*614
*162


B
C
D
E
F
G
H
1st FRACTION
2nd FRACTION
Kwaku
Kodyo
Kanda
Apaïta
Apaïta
Bongo 1902
Head of the lo
without desc.
without desc.
correspondence of generations
3 children
5 children
3 children

[End Chart-C1]

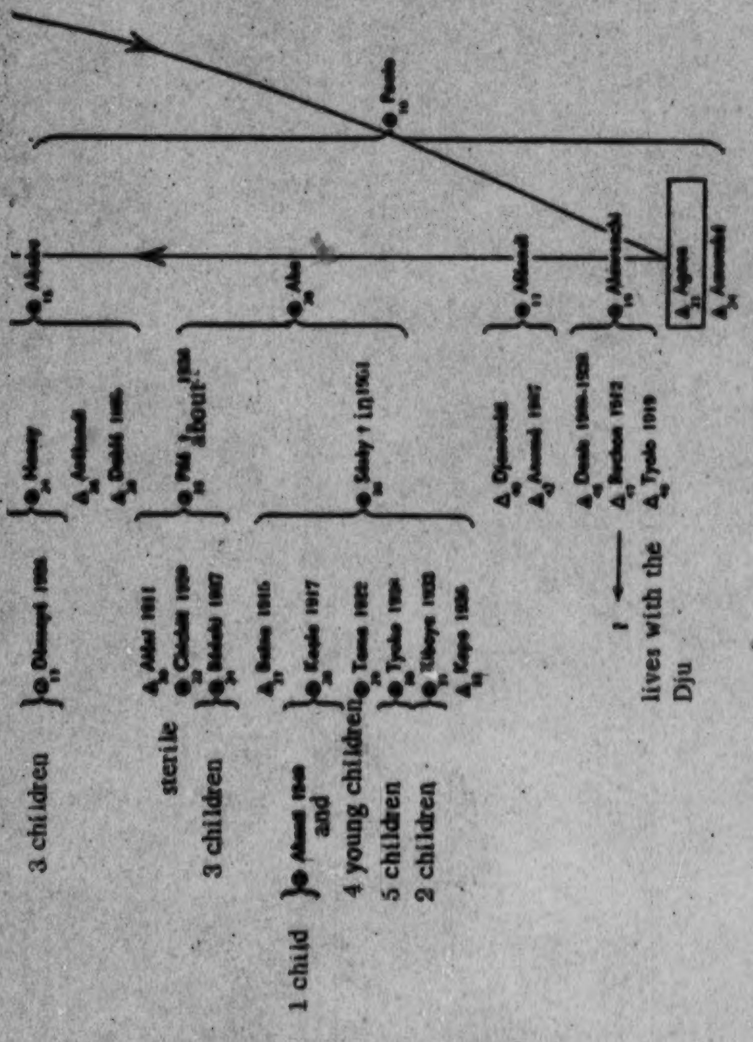
Boni

GENEALOGY OF THE DIPELU II LO AND THE AFI LINEAGE IN JANUARY 1958

*601
*613
*614
*162

2nd FRACTION

▨ Kormotibo
■ Asisi
■ Dead
☐ Isolated in the midst of other lineages
↓ Emigrated for good

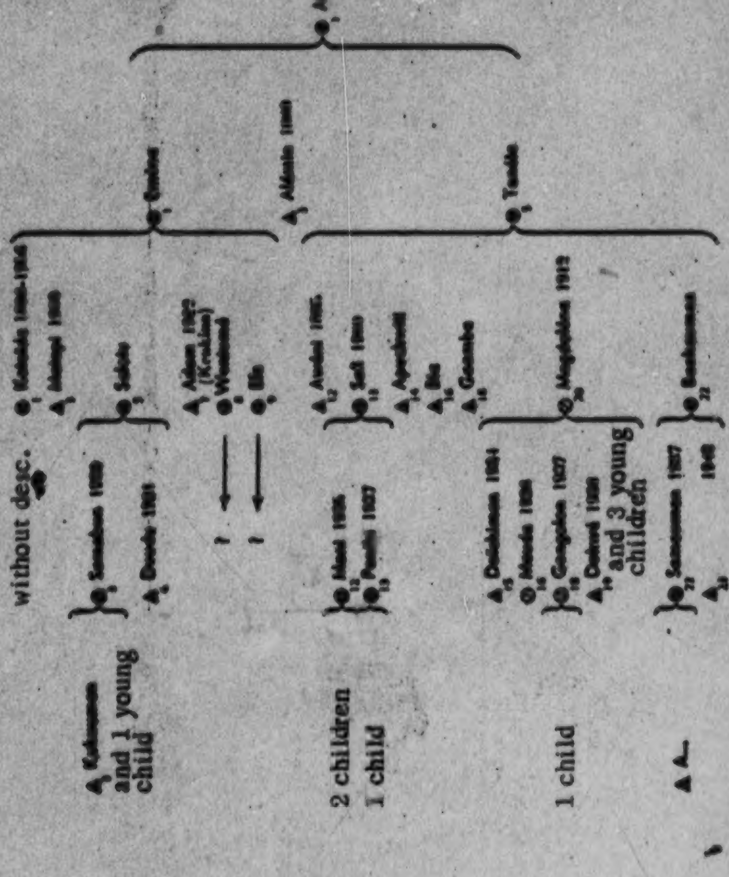

3 children
sterile
3 children
1 child
and
4 young children
5 children
2 children
about 1920
in 1961
Tame 1922
Kape 1936
Tyolo 1919
lives with the Dju

[End Chart - C2]

#601
#613
#162

AFI LINEAGE

Lineage unrelated to the Awara Bakka; founded by Afi, a woman of the Bakabuchi tribe (Surinam), immigrated at the end of the 19th century.


Afi
Emina
Tandie
Magdalina 1912
(Krukim)
without desc.
and 1 young child
2 children
1 child
1 child
and 3 young children

[End Chart - C3]

*162

*601

*613

*614

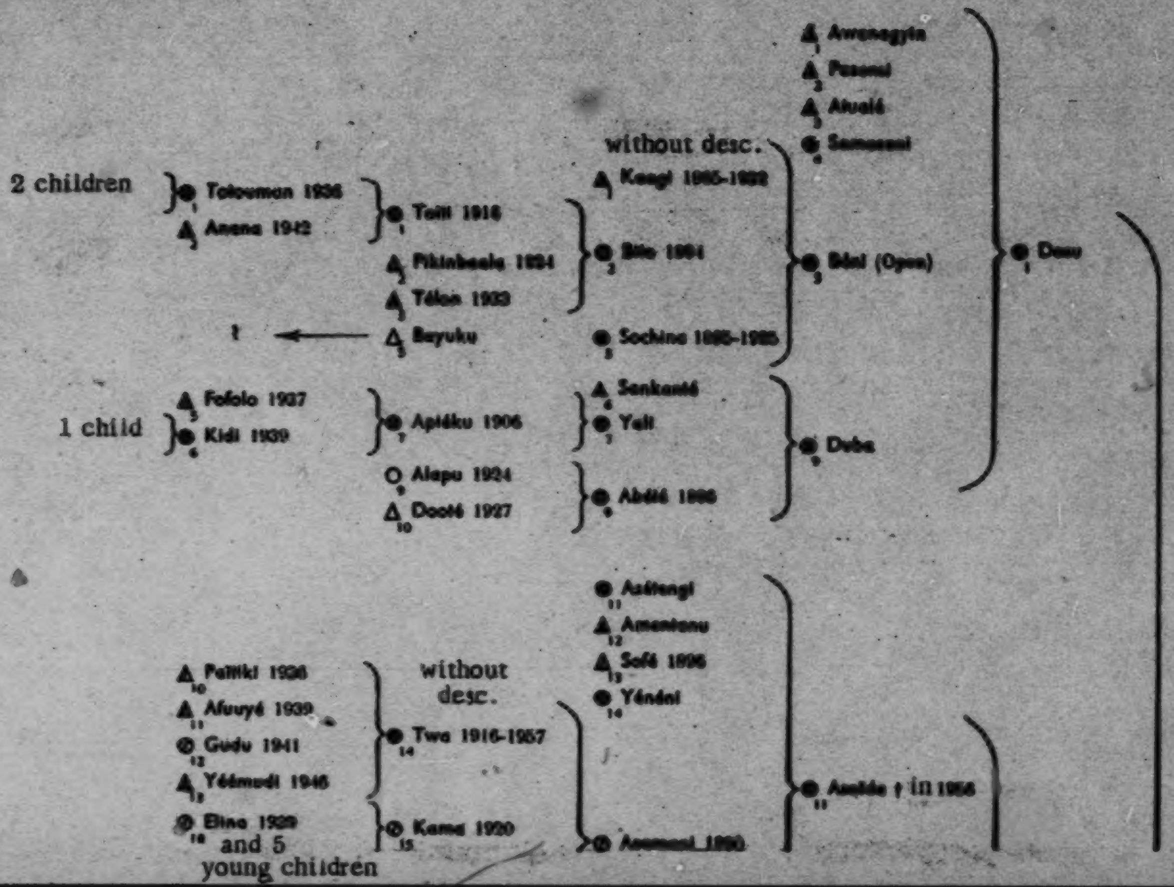
D1 (p. 558)
D2 (p. 559)
D3 (p. 560)
D4 (p. 561)
D5 (p. 562)

Chart of Positions of End Chart D (Genealogy of the Lapé Lo) /facing p. 558/

x601
x613
x614
x162

6:Hurault--658. K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

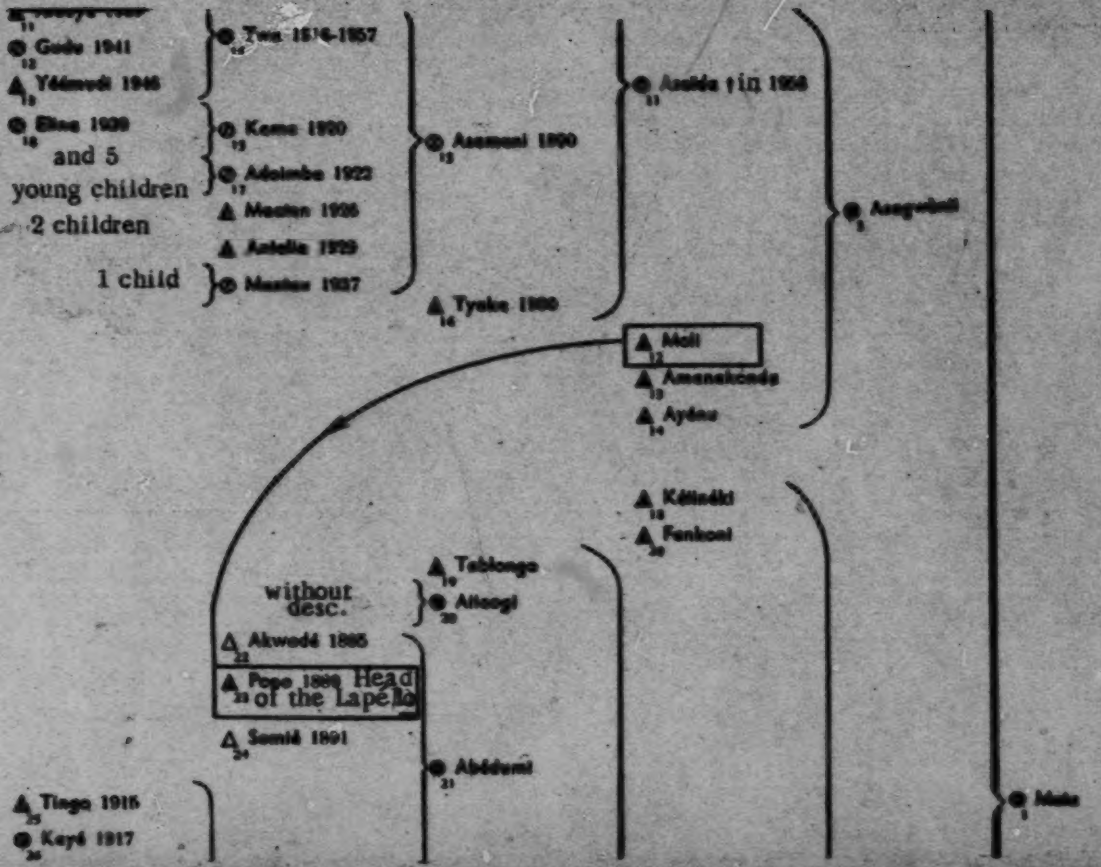

Awanagyin 1
Pasoni 2
Atualé 3
Samaani 4
without desc.
Kaagi 1885-1922
Bito 1891 2
Bini (Opon) 3
Dauu 1
Sochina 1885-1985 5
Sankanté 6
Yali 7
Duba 9
Abété 1886 9
2 children
Totouman 1936 1
Anana 1942 2
Taiti 1916 1
Pikinbaala 1884 2
Télon 1903 3
Bayuku 5
1 child
Fofolo 1937 5
Kidi 1939 6
Apiáku 1906 7
Alapu 1924 9
Dooté 1927 10
Asátangi 11
Amantanu 12
Sofé 1896 13
Yénáni 14
Palliki 1936 10
Afuuyé 1939 11
Gudu 1941 12
Yéémudi 1946 13
Elina 1929 14
and 5
young children
without
desc.
Twa 1916-1957 14
Kama 1920 15
Asamani 1890
Amiéde † in 1956 11

End Chart - D1

6:Hurault--SR8 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

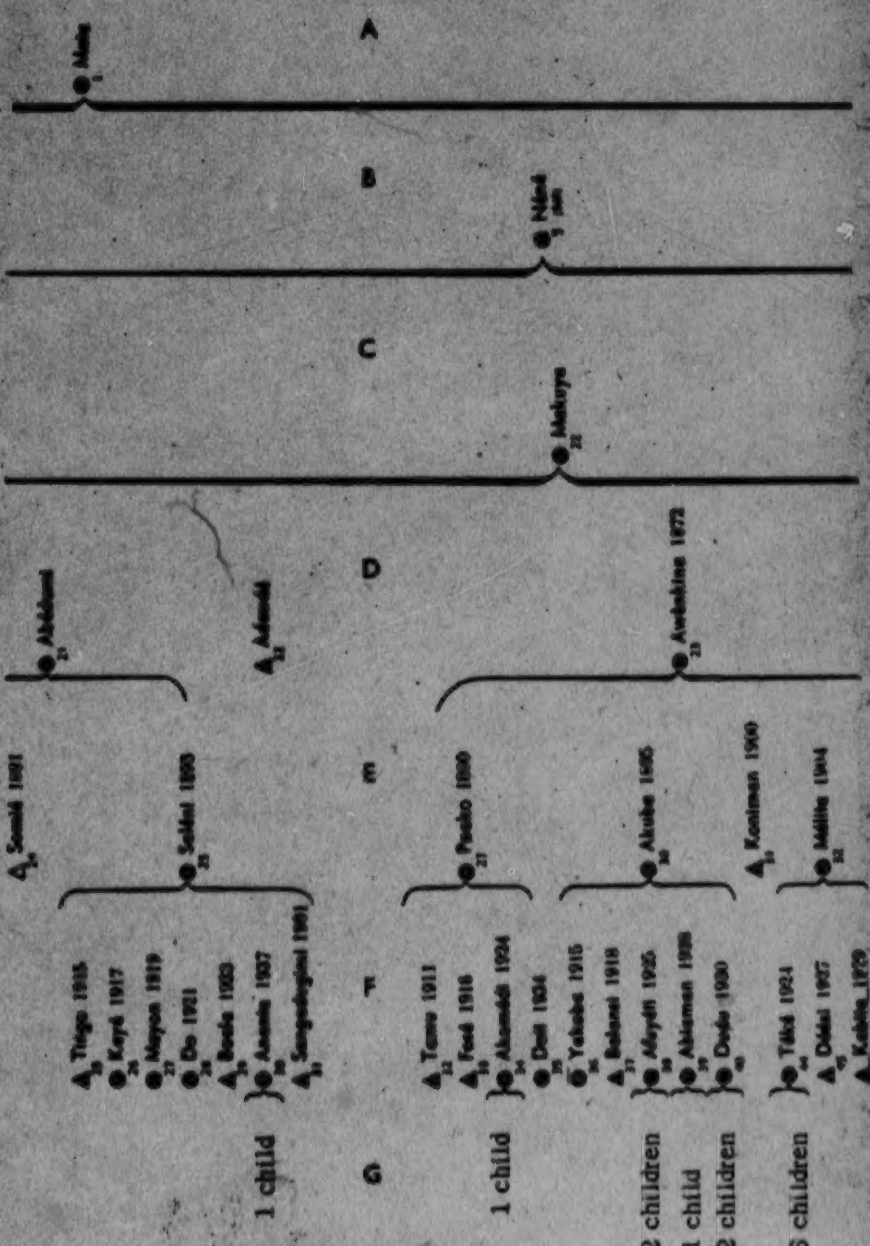
Boni

#601
#613
#614
#162


Gode 1941
Yéémodi 1946
Elisa 1939
and 5 young children
2 children
1 child
Twa 1916-1957
Kema 1920
Adoimba 1922
Maaten 1926
Antelia 1929
Maatew 1937
Asamani 1890
Tyake 1880
Asaida † in 1958
Aangwbali
Moli
Amanakonde
Ayénu
Kétinéki
Fenkoni
Tablongo
Aliaogi
without desc.
Akwodé 1885
Pepo 1889 Head of the Lapello
Samié 1891
Abédumi
Tingo 1915
Kayé 1917
Mata

End chart - D2

*601
*613
*614
*162

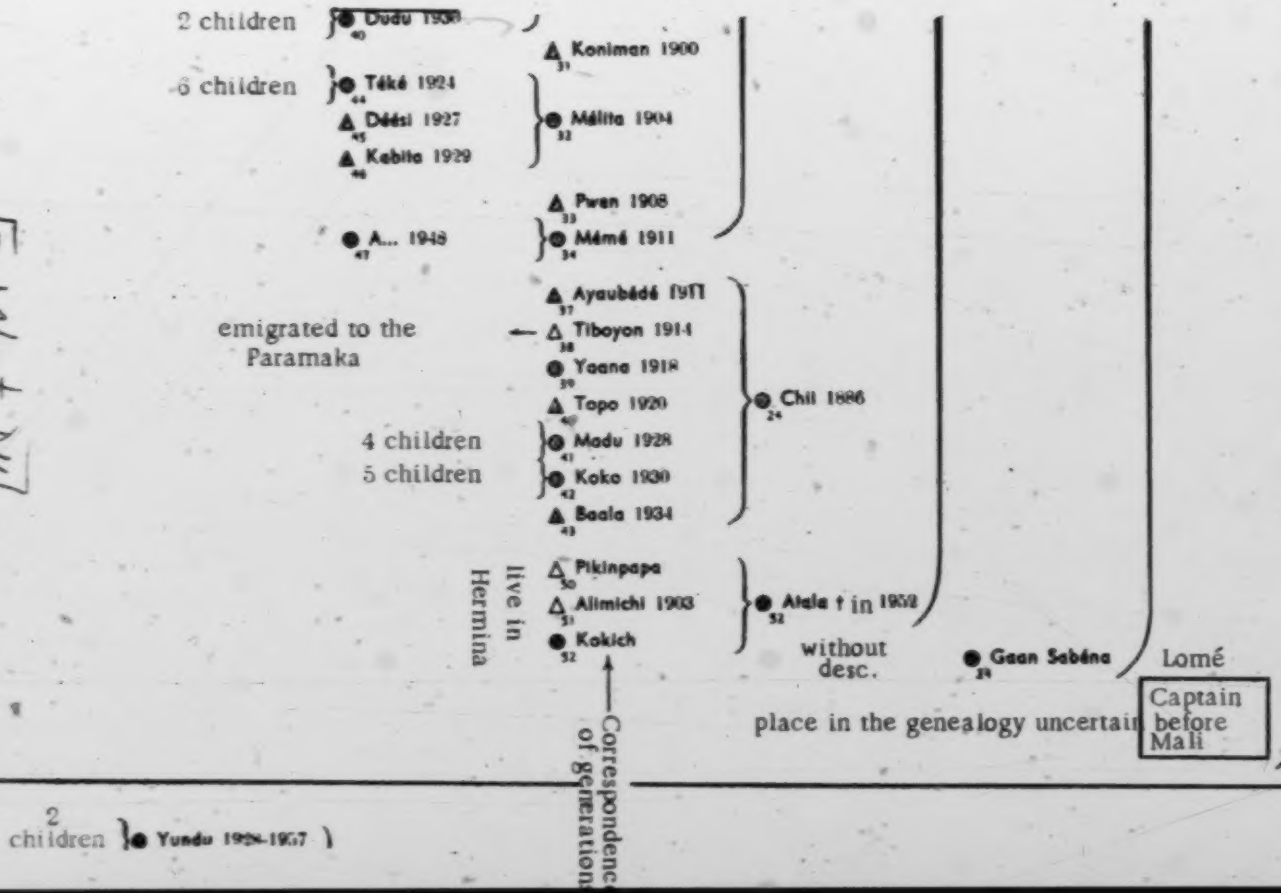

A
Mata 1
B
Néné 5
C
Makuya 22
D
Abéduni 21
Adoudé 22
Awénkina 1872 23
E
Somié 1891 24
Seidai 1893 25
Pasko 1890 27
Akuba 1895 30
Koniman 1900 31
Mélita 1904 32
F
Tiigo 1915 25
Kayé 1917 26
Mayon 1919 27
Do 1921 28
Bosia 1923 29
Anania 1927 30
Sangadugini 1931 31
Tanu 1911 32
Feed 1916 33
Akomédi 1924 34
Doli 1934 35
Yakaba 1915 36
Balansi 1918 37
Afeyéti 1925 38
Abiaman 1928 39
Dodu 1930 40
Tékó 1924 44
Dédai 1927 45
Kobiia 1929
G
1 child
1 child
2 children
1 child
2 children
6 children

[End Chart-D3]

6:Hurault--561 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

*601
*613
*614
*162

End Chart - D4



Boni
1st FRACTION
2 children
Dudu 1930
40
Koniman 1900
31
6 children
Téké 1924
44
Déési 1927
45
Kabita 1929
46
Mélita 1904
32
Pwen 1908
33
A... 1948
47
Mémé 1911
34
Ayaubédé 1911
37
emigrated to the Paramaka
Tiboyon 1914
38
Yaana 1918
39
Topo 1920
40
Chil 1886
24
4 children
Madu 1928
41
5 children
Koko 1930
42
Baala 1934
43
live in Hermina
Pikinpapa
50
Alimichi 1903
51
Kokich
52
Atala † in 1952
52
without desc.
Gaan Sabéna
24
Lomé
Captain before Mali
place in the genealogy uncertain
Correspondence of generations
2 children
Yundu 1924-1957

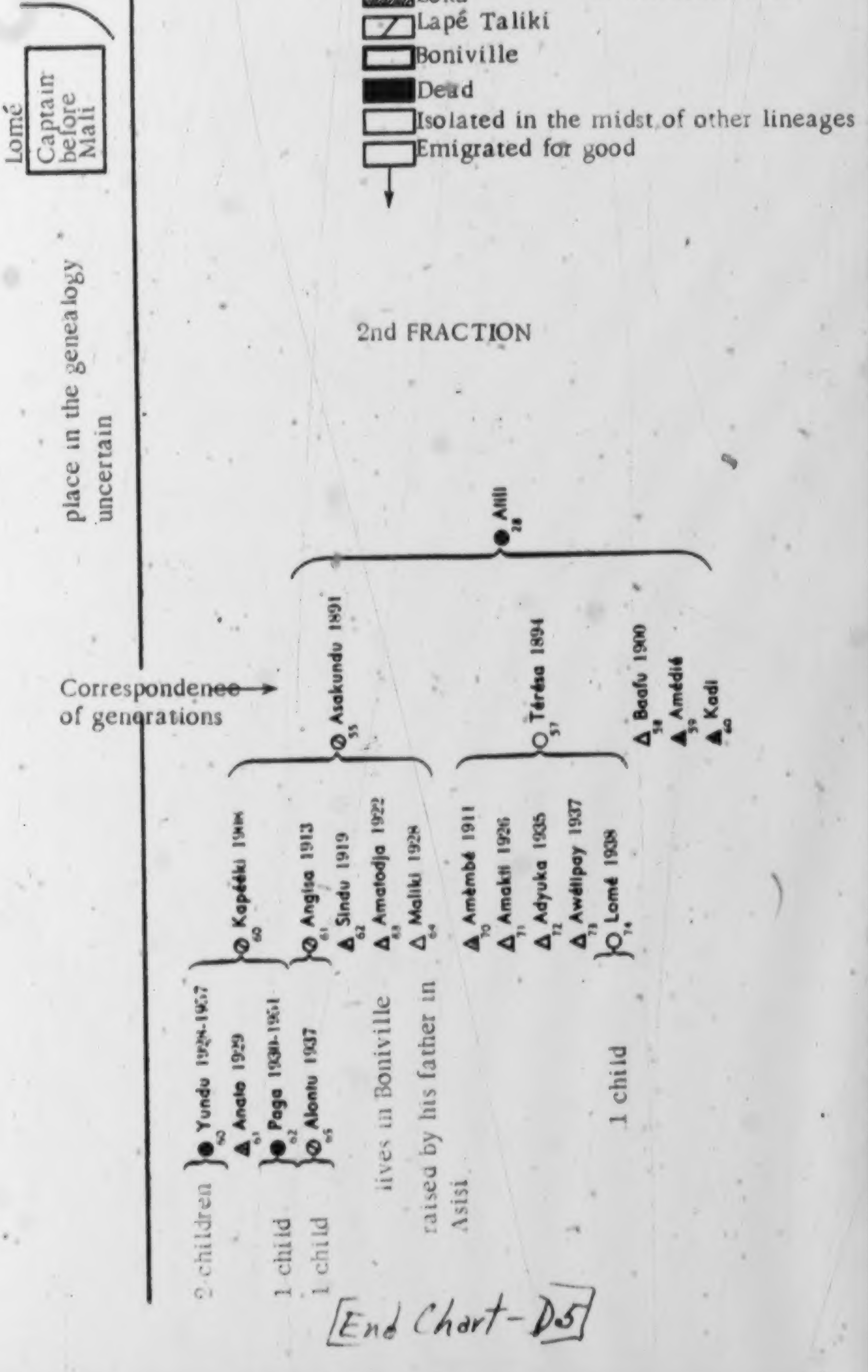
6:Hurault-1562 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

GENEALOGY OF THE LAPÉ LO ((LOKA AND LAPÉ TABIKI VILLAGES) IN JANUARY 1958

*601
*613
*614
*162

- ▨ Loka
- ☐ Lapé Taliki
- ☐ Boniville
- ■ Dead
- ☐ Isolated in the midst of other lineages
- ☐ Emigrated for good



Lomé
Captain before Mali
place in the genealogy uncertain
2nd FRACTION
Correspondence of generations
Alili 28
Asakundu 1891 55
Térésa 1894 57
Baafu 1900 58
Amédié 59
Kadi 60
Kapéëki 1908 60
Angisa 1913 61
Sindu 1919 62
Amatodja 1922 63
Maliki 1928 64
Amèmbé 1911 70
Amakti 1926 71
Adyuka 1935 72
Awélipay 1937 73
Lomé 1938 74
Yundu 1928-1957 60
Anato 1929 61
Paga 1930-1951 62
Alontu 1937 65
2 children
1 child
1 child
lives in Boniville
raised by his father in Asisi
1 child

[End Chart-D5]

*162

*601

*613

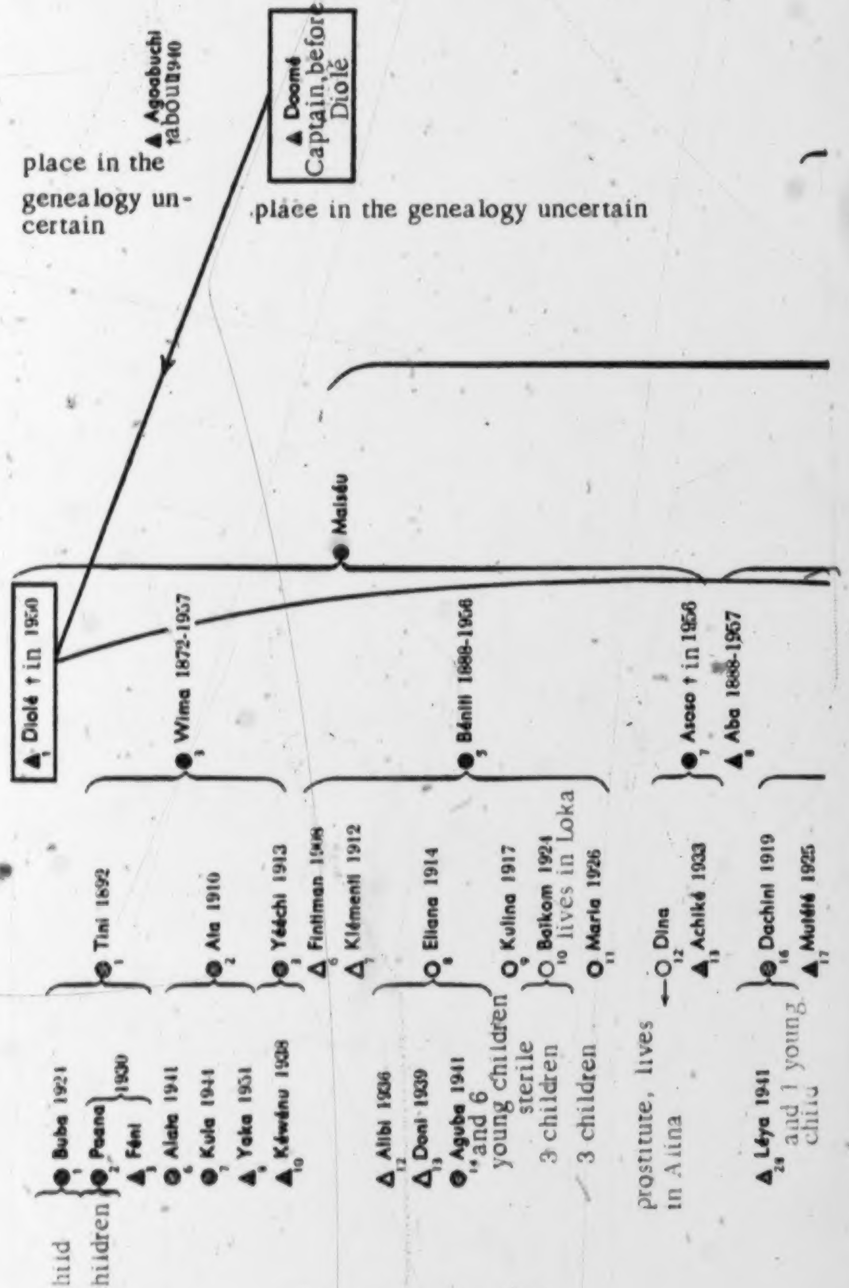
*614

E1 (p. 563)
E2 (p. 564)
E3 (p. 565)
E4 (p. 566)

Chart of Positions of End Chart E (Genealogy of the Dju Lo) /facing p. 563/

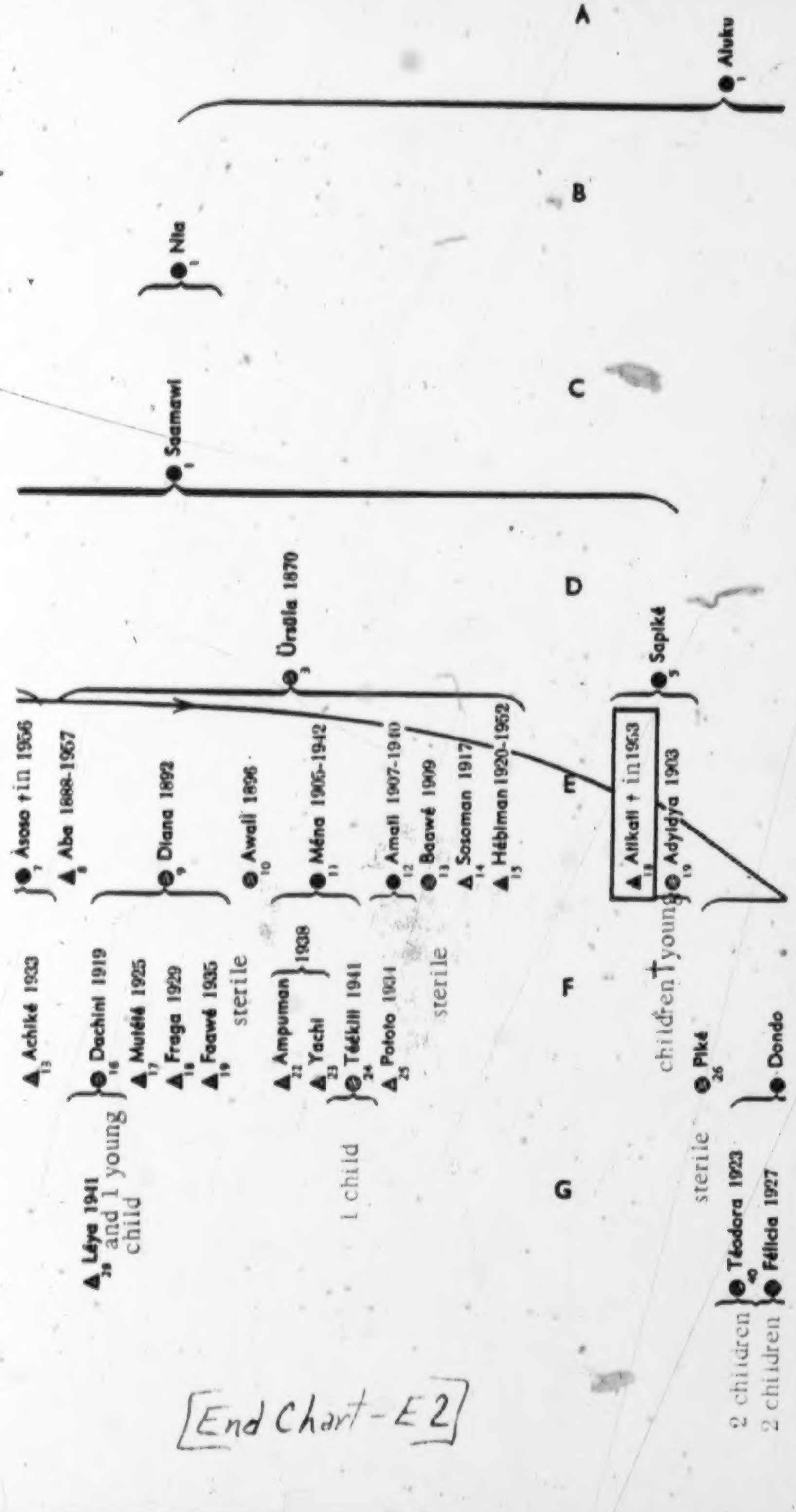
6:Hurault--563 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162


Doomé
Captain, before Diolé
place in the genealogy uncertain
Agoabuchi †about 1940
place in the genealogy uncertain
Maiséu
Diolé † in 1950
Wima 1872-1957
Bénili 1888-1956
Asoso † in 1956
Aba 1888-1957
Tini 1892
Ala 1910
Yééchi 1913
Fintiman 1908
Klémenti 1912
Eliana 1914
Kulina 1917
Baikom 1924
lives in Loka
Maria 1926
Dina
Achiké 1933
Dachini 1919
Mutété 1925
Buba 1921
Paana
Féni
1930
Alata 1941
Kula 1941
Yaka 1951
Kéwénu 1938
Alibi 1936
Doni 1939
Aguba 1941
and 6 young children
sterile
3 children
3 children
prostitute, lives in Alina
Léya 1941
and 1 young child
1 child
2 children

[End Chart-E1]

*601
*613
*614
*162

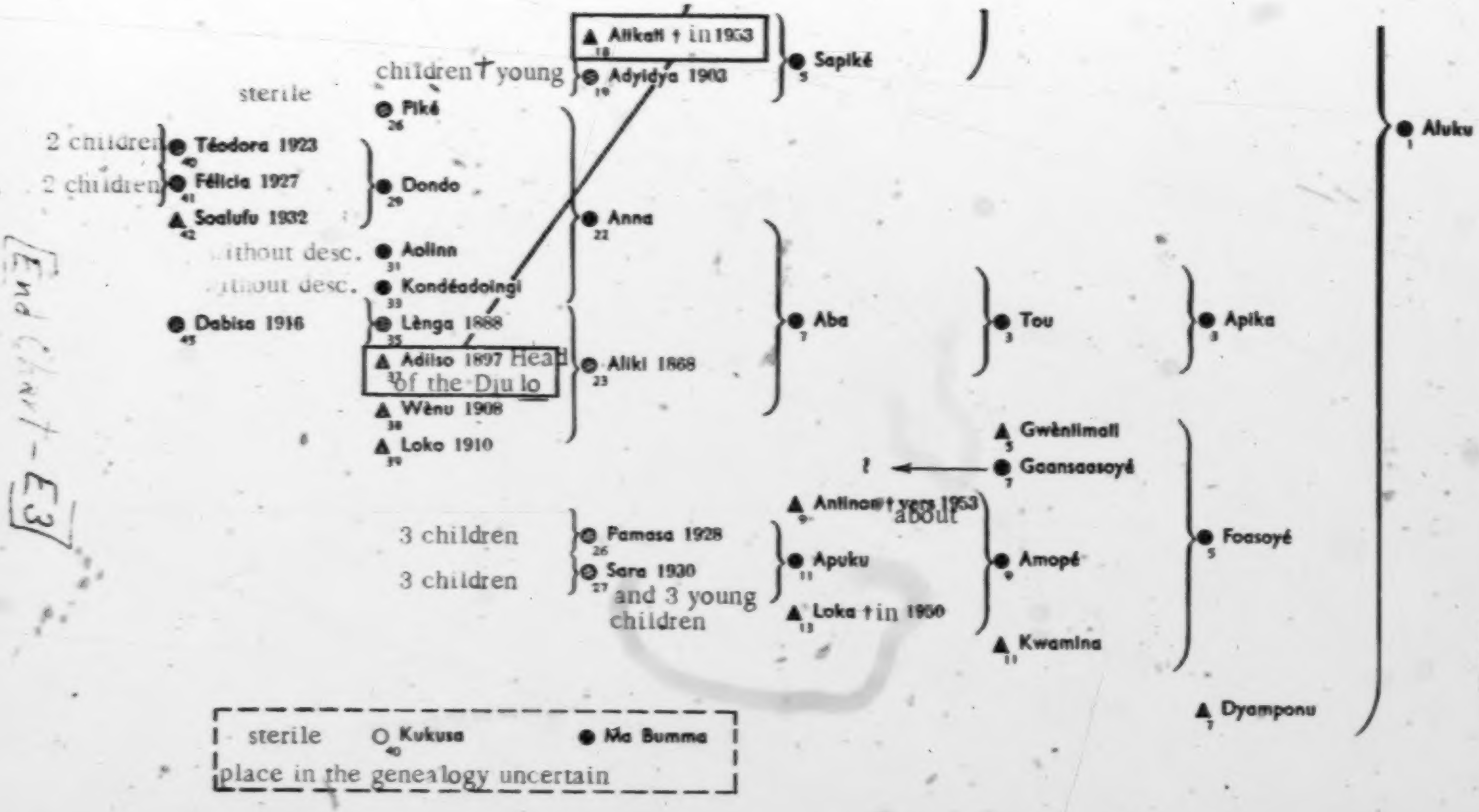

A
B
C
D
E
F
G
Aluku
Nia
Saamawi
Ürsüla 1870
Sapiké
Àsoso † in 1956
Aba 1888-1957
Diana 1892
Awali 1896
Ména 1905-1942
Amali 1907-1940
Baawé 1909
Sosoman 1917
Hébiman 1920-1952
Atikali † in 1953
Adyidya 1903
Achiké 1933
Dachini 1919
Mutélé 1925
Fraga 1929
Faawé 1935
sterile
Ampuman
Yachi
1938
Téékili 1941
Pototo 1934
sterile
children † young
Piké
Dondo
Léya 1941
and 1 young child
1 child
sterile
Téodora 1923
Félicia 1927
2 children
2 children

[End Chart-E2]

*601
*613
*614
*162

6:Hurault--565 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

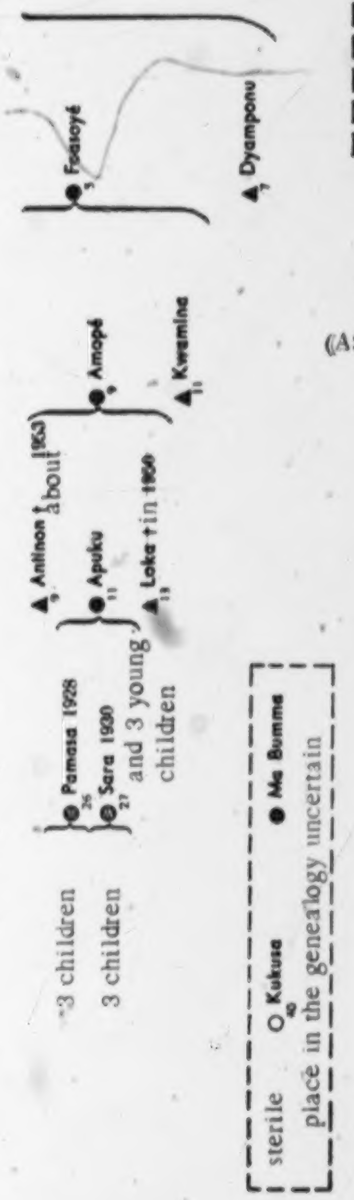

Aluku 1
Apika 3
Tou 3
Aba 7
Sapiké 5
Alikati † in 1953 18
Adyidya 1903 19
children † young
Anna 22
Aliki 1868 23
Piké 26
sterile
Dondo 29
Aolinn 31
without desc.
Kondéadoingi 33
without desc.
Lènga 1888 35
Adiiso 1897 37 Head of the Djulo
Wènu 1908 38
Loko 1910 39
Téodora 1923 40
2 children
Félicia 1927 41
2 children
Soalufu 1932 42
Dabisa 1916 45
Gwènlimali 3
Gaansaasoyé 7
?
Foasoyé 5
Amopé 9
Antinoa † vers 1953 9
about
Apuku 11
Loka † in 1950 13
Kwamina 11
Dyamponu 7
Pamasa 1928 26
3 children
Sara 1930 27
3 children
and 3 young children
sterile
Kukusa 40
Ma Bumma
place in the genealogy uncertain

End Chart-E3

6:Hurault--566 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162


Foasoyé 3
Dyamponu 7
Amopé 9
Kwamina 11
Antinon † about 1953 9
Apuku 11
Loka † in 1950 13
Pamasa 1928 25
Sara 1930 27
and 3 young children
3 children
3 children
sterile
Kukusa 40
Ma Bumma
place in the genealogy uncertain

▨ Asisi
☐ Boniville
■ Dead.
☐ Isolated in the midst of other lineage
☐ Emigrated for good
↓

GENEALOGY OF THE DJU LO

(ASISI AND BONIVILLE VILLAGES)

IN JANUARY 1958

[End Chart - E 4]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*162

*601

*613

*614

F1 (p. 567)
F2 (p. 568)
F3 (p. 569)
F4 (p. 570)
F5 (p. 571)

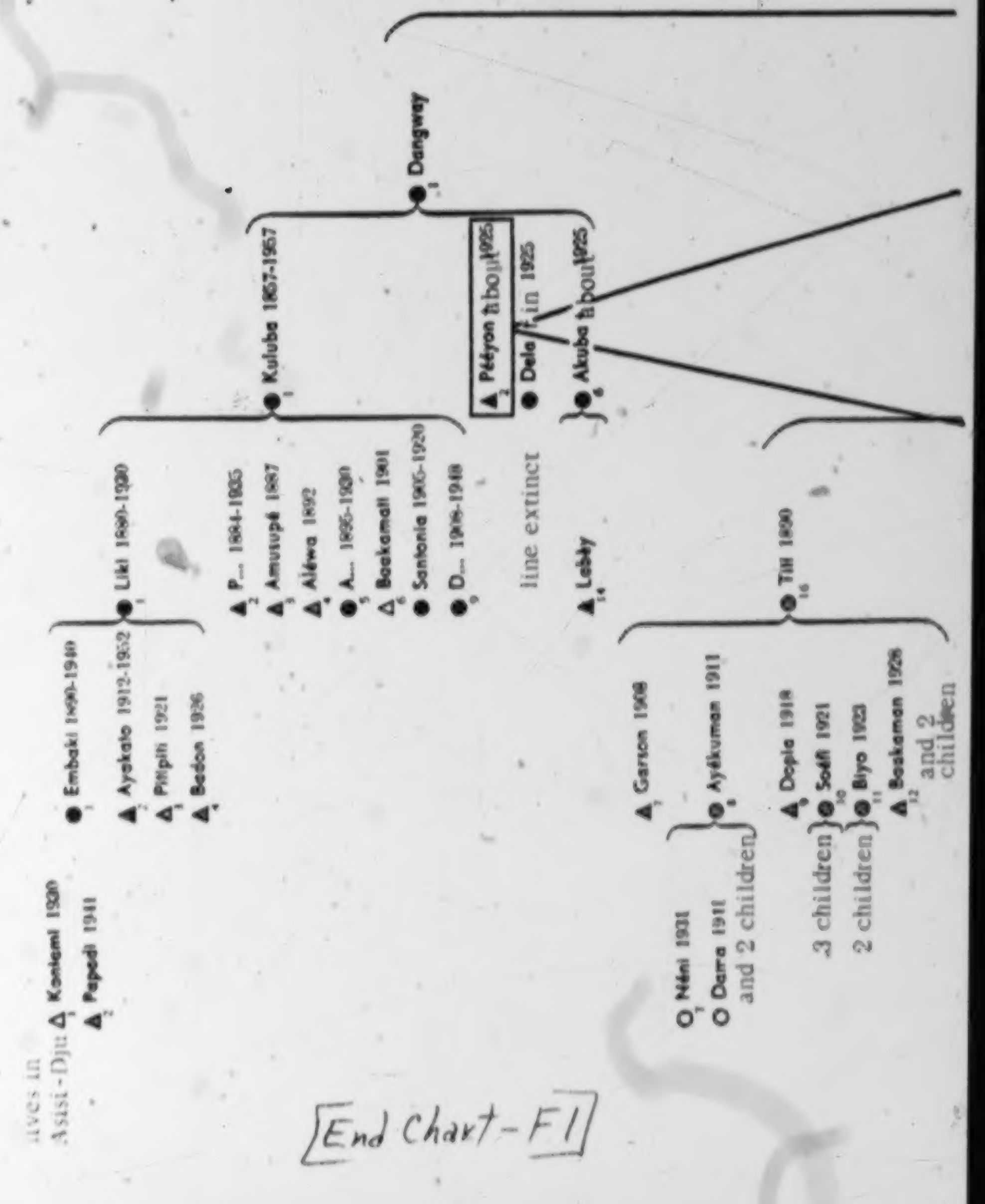
Chart of Positions of End Chart F (Genealogy of the Awara Bakka Lo) /facing p. 567/

6:Hurault--587 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614.
*162

▨ Asisi
▧ Kormotibo
■ Dead
☐ Isolated in the midst of other lineages
☐ Emigrated for good

GENEALOGY OF THE AWARA BAKKA LO
(ASISI VILLAGE)
IN JANUARY 1958

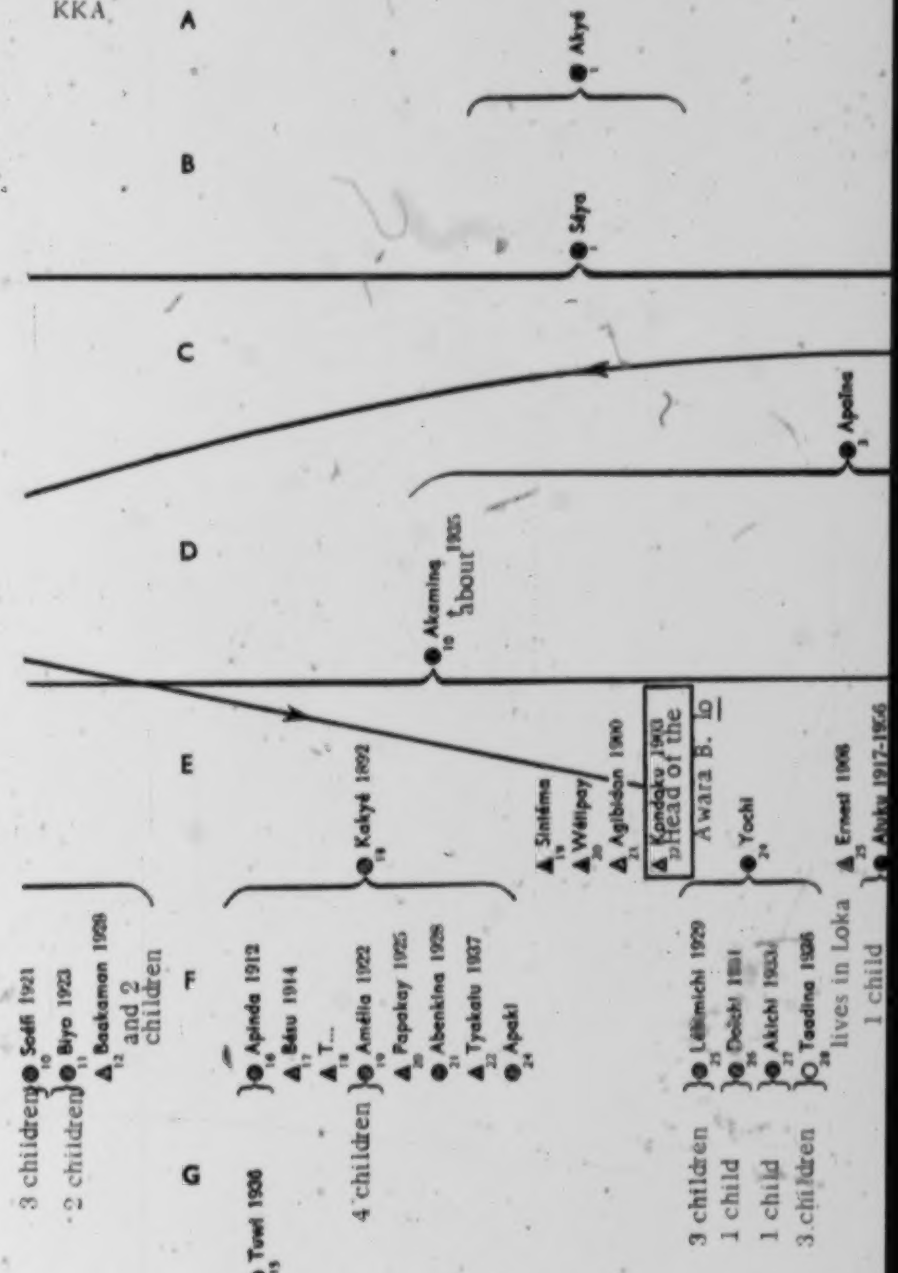

Dangway 1
Kuluba 1857-1957 1
Pééyon about 1925 2
Dela † in 1925
Akuba about 1925 6
Liki 1880-1930 1
P... 1884-1935 2
Amusupé 1887 3
Aléwa 1892 4
A... 1895-1930 5
Baakamati 1901 6
Santonia 1905-1920
D... 1906-1948 9
line extinct
Lebèy 14
Tili 1890 16
Embaki 1890-1940 1
Ayakato 1912-1952 2
Pitipiti 1921 3
Badon 1926 4
Garson 1908 7
Ayékuman 1911 8
Dopia 1918 9
Soéfi 1921 10
Biyo 1923 11
Baakaman 1926 12
and 2 children
lives in Asisi-Dju
Koniami 1930 1
Papadi 1941 2
Néni 1931 7
Darra 1911
and 2 children
3 children
2 children

[End Chart-F1]

6:Hurault-- 568 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

KKA

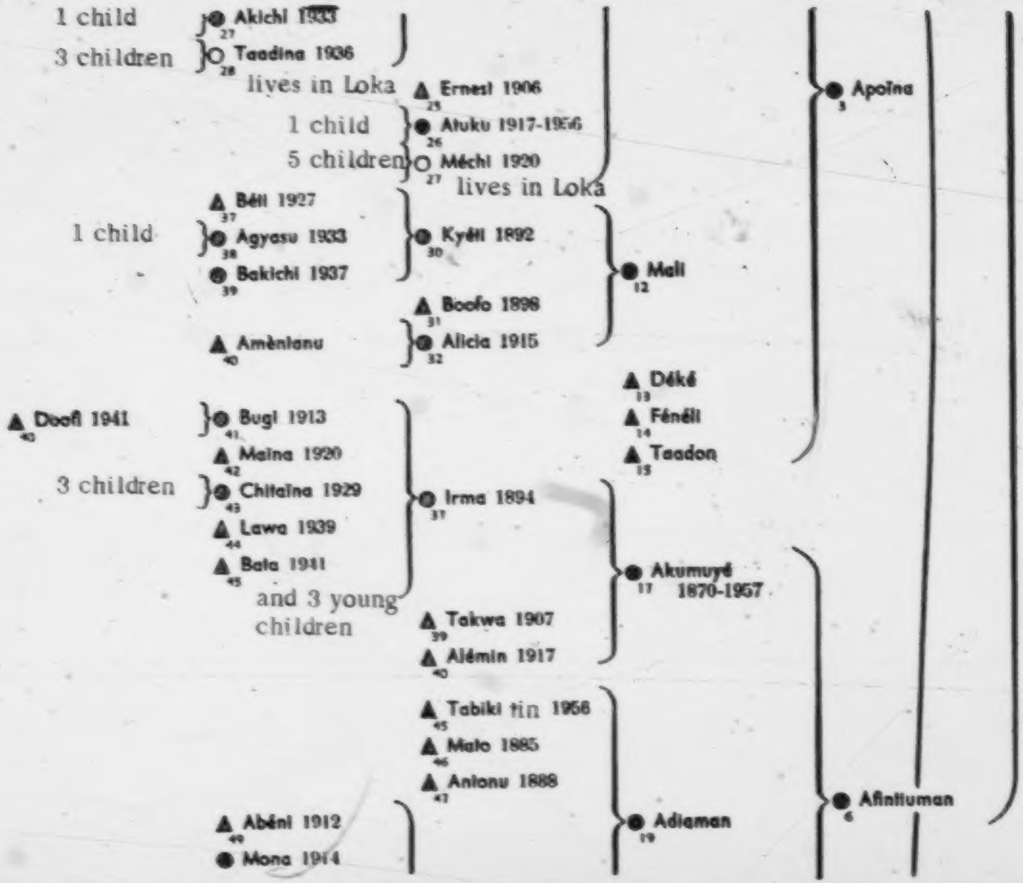
*601
*613
*614
*162


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
Akyé 1
Séya 1
Apaïna 3
Akaming 10 † about 1925
Kakyé 1892 18
Siniéma 19
Wélipay 20
Agibidan 1900 21
Kondaku 1903 22
Head of the Awara B. lo
Yochi 24
Ernest 1906 25
Atuku 1917-1956
Soéfi 1921 10
Biyo 1923 11
Baakaman 1928 12
and 2 children
3 children
2 children
Apinda 1912 16
Bésu 1914 17
T... 18
Amélia 1922 19
Papakay 1925 20
Abenkina 1928 21
Tyakalu 1937 22
Apaki 24
4 children
Tuwi 1936 15
Lélimichi 1929 25
Doichi 1931 26
Akichi 1933 27
Taadina 1926 28
3 children
1 child
1 child
3 children
lives in Loka
1 child

[End Chart-F2]

*601
*613
*614
*162

1st FRACTION


Apoina 3
Afintiuman 6
Mali 12
Déké 13
Fénéli 14
Taadon 15
Akumuyé 17 1870-1957
Adiaman 19
Ernest 1906 25
Atuku 1917-1956 26
Méchi 1920 27
lives in Loka
Kyéli 1892 30
Boofo 1898 31
Alicia 1915 32
Irma 1894 37
Takwa 1907 39
Alémin 1917 40
Tabiki tin 1956 45
Mato 1885 46
Antonu 1888 47
1 child
Akichi 1933 27
3 children
Taadina 1936 28
lives in Loka
1 child
5 children
Béli 1927 37
1 child
Agyasu 1933 38
Bakichi 1937 39
Amèntanu 40
Doofi 1941 40
Bugi 1913 41
Maina 1920 42
3 children
Chitaina 1929 43
Lawa 1939 44
Bata 1941 45
and 3 young children
Abéni 1912 49
Mona 1914

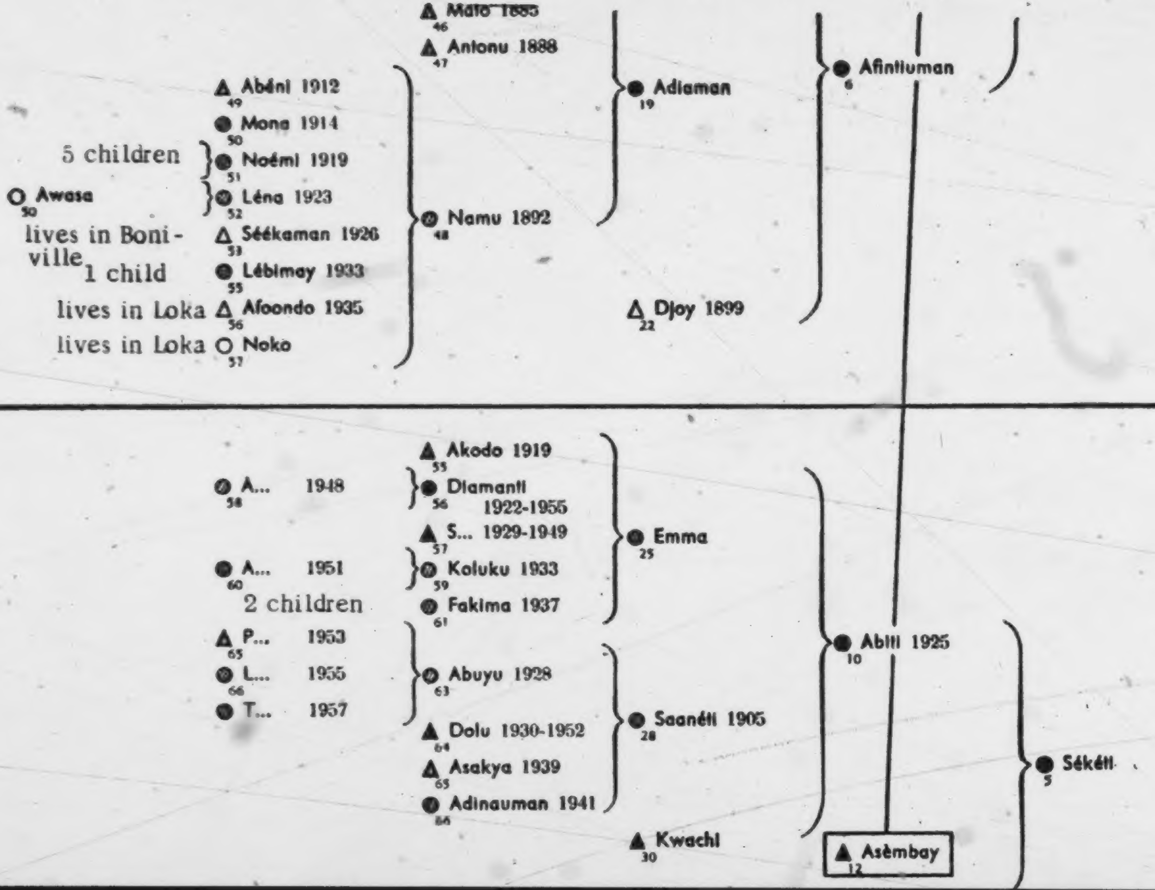
End Chart-F3

6:Hurault--57[illegible] K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

2nd FRACTION

*601
*613
*614
*162


Malo 1885 46
Antonu 1888 47
Abéni 1912 49
Mona 1914 50
5 children
Noémi 1919 51
Awasa 50
Léna 1923 52
lives in Boni-ville
Séékaman 1926 53
1 child
Lébimay 1933 55
lives in Loka
Afoondo 1935 56
lives in Loka
Noko 57
Namu 1892 48
Adiaman 19
Djoy 1899 22
Afintiuman 6
Akodo 1919 55
A... 1948 58
Diamanti 1922-1955 56
S... 1929-1949 57
A... 1951 60
Koluku 1933 59
2 children
Fakima 1937 61
Emma 25
P... 1953 65
L... 1955 66
T... 1957
Abuyu 1928 63
Dolu 1930-1952 64
Asakya 1939 65
Adinauman 1941 66
Saanéti 1905 28
Kwachi 30
Abiti 1925 10
Asèmbay 12
Sékéti 5

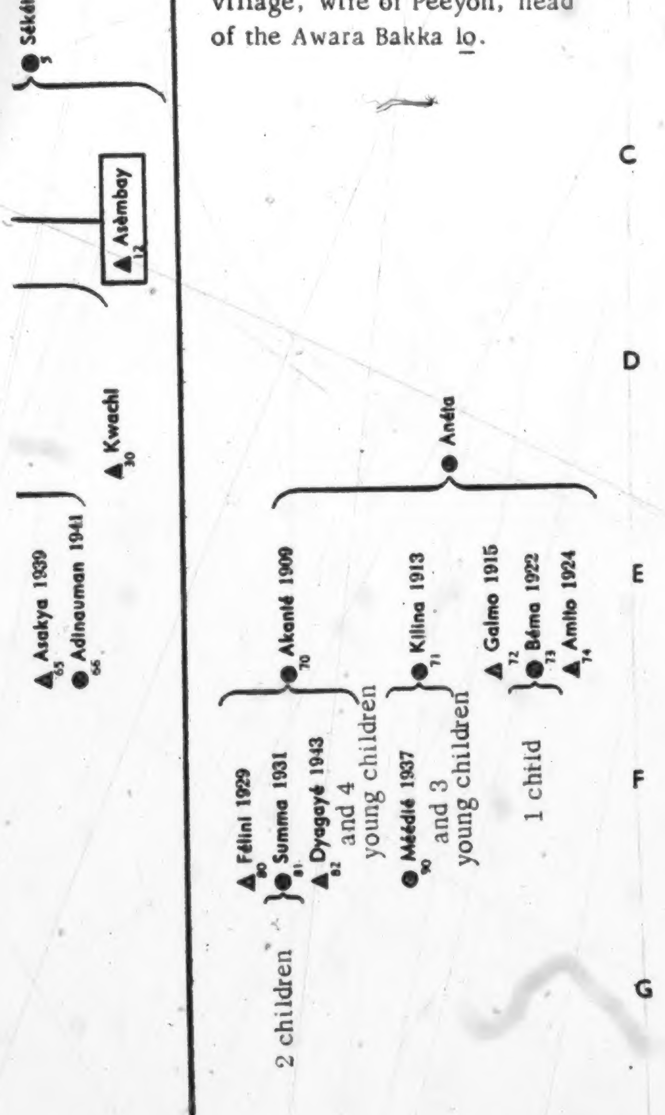
End chart - F4

6:Hurault-- 571 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162

3rd FRACTION

Lineage created by Anéta, Djuka woman of Tabiki village, wife of Pééyon, head of the Awara Bakka lo.



B
C
D
E
F
G
Sékéli 5
Asèmbay 12
Kwachi 30
Asakya 1939 65
Adinauman 1941 66
Anéta
Akanté 1909 70
Kilina 1913 71
Galmo 1915 72
Béma 1922 73
Amito 1924 74
Félini 1929 80
Summa 1931 81
Dyagayé 1943 82
and 4 young children
Méédié 1937 90
and 3 young children
2 children
1 child

[End Chart-F5]

*162

*601

*613

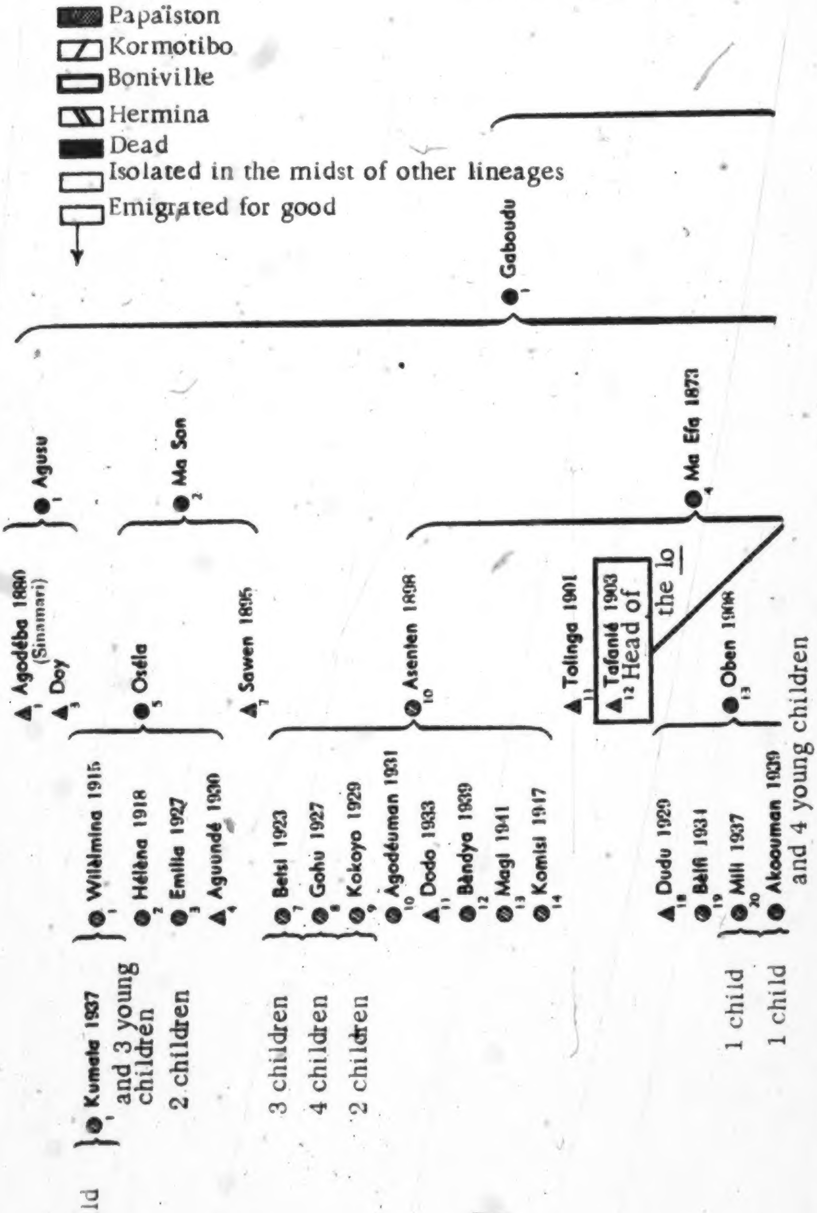
*614

G1 (p. 572)
G2 (p. 573)
G3 (p. 574)
G4 (p. 575)

Chart of Positions of End Chart G (Genealogy of the Kawina *Lo* and Toīna lineage) /facing p. 572/

*601
*613
*614
*162

GENEALOGY OF THE KAWINA LO
(PAPAÏSTON)
IN JANUARY 1958

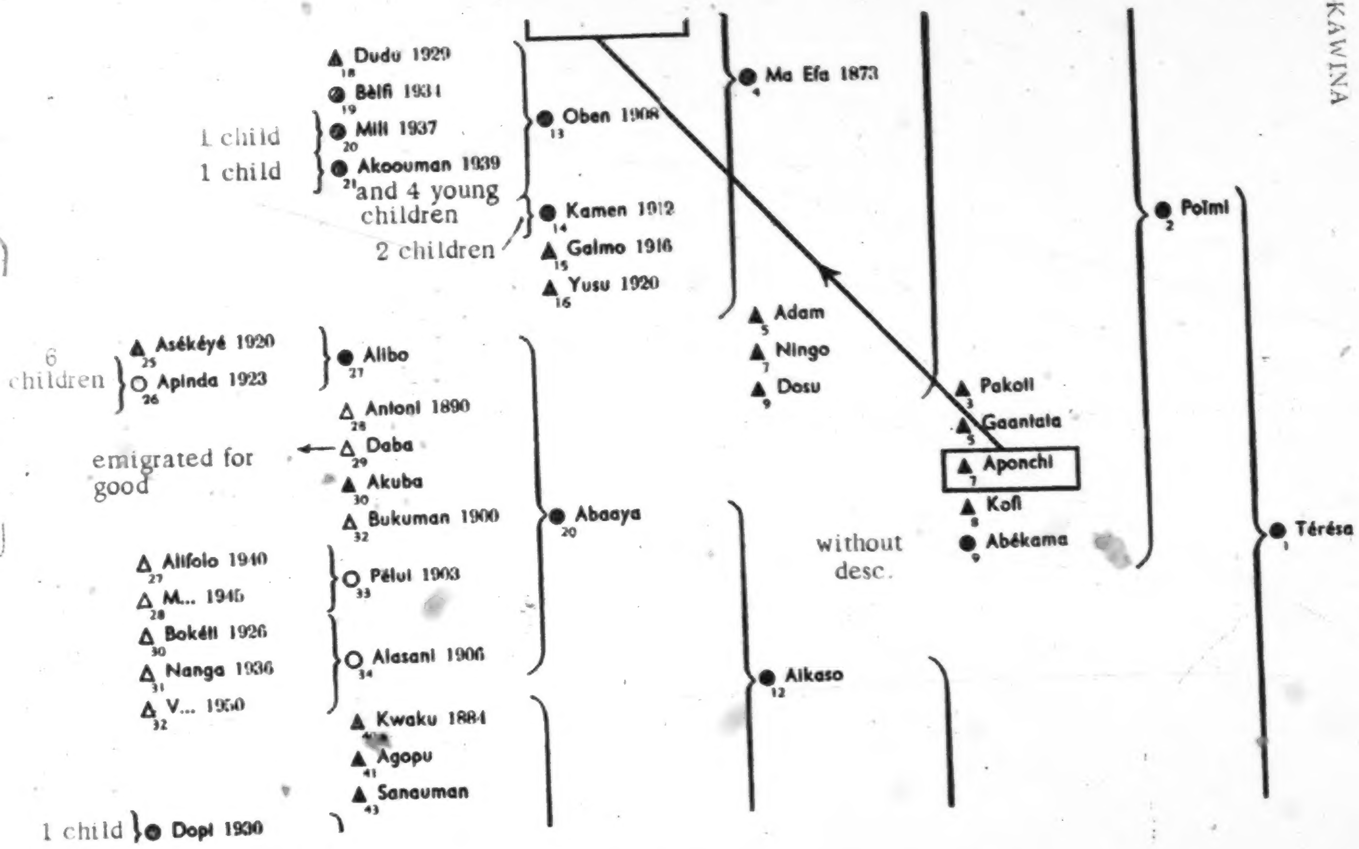

Papaïston
Kormotibo
Boniville
Hermina
Dead
Isolated in the midst of other lineages
Emigrated for good
Gaboudu 1
Agusu 1
Ma Son 2
Ma Efa 1873 4
Agodéba 1880 (Sinamari) 1
Doy 3
Oséla 5
Sawen 1895 7
Asenten 1898 10
Tolinga 1901 11
Tafanié 1903 12 Head of the lo
Oben 1908 13
Wilèlmina 1915 1
Hélèna 1918 2
Emilia 1927 3
Aguundé 1930 4
Betsi 1923 7
Gohu 1927 8
Kokoyo 1929 9
Agodéuman 1931 10
Dodo 1933 11
Bàndya 1939 12
Magi 1941 13
Komisi 1917 14
Dudu 1929 18
Bèlfi 1934 19
Mili 1937 20
Akoouman 1939
and 4 young children
Kumata 1937 1
and 3 young children
2 children
3 children
4 children
2 children
1 child
1 child
1 child

[End Chart - G1]

*609
*613
*614
*162

6:Hurault-- 573 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

KAWINA

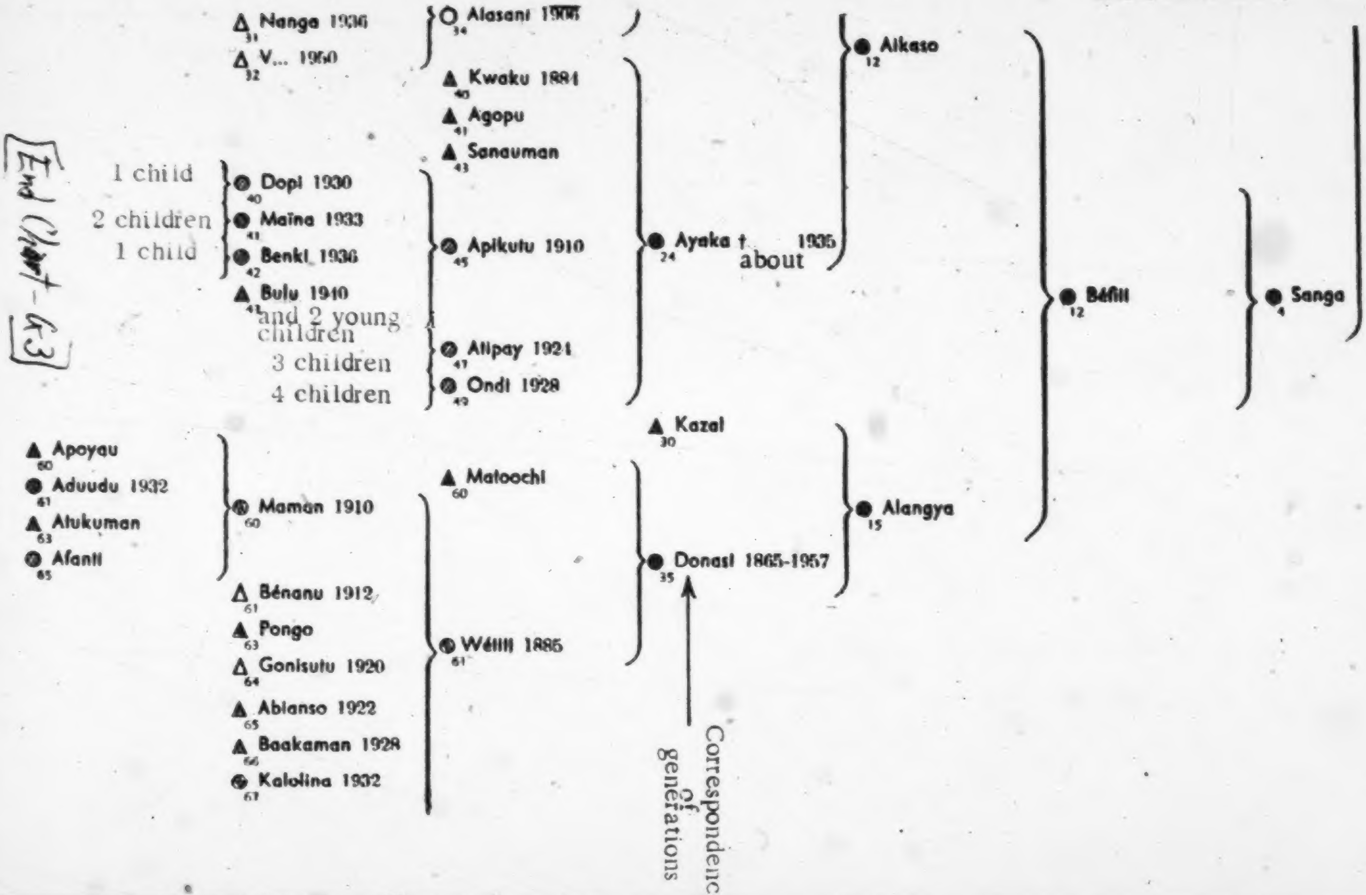

Dudu 1929 18
Bèlfi 1934 19
Mili 1937 20
Akoouman 1939 21
1 child
1 child
and 4 young children
Oben 1908 13
Kamen 1912 14
2 children
Galmo 1916 15
Yusu 1920 16
Ma Efa 1873 4
Adam 5
Ningo 7
Dosu 9
Pakoli 3
Gaantala 5
Aponchi 7
Kofi 8
Abékama 9
Poimi 2
Térésa 1
Asékéyé 1920 25
Apinda 1923 26
6 children
Alibo 27
Antoni 1890 28
Daba 29
emigrated for good
Akuba 30
Bukuman 1900 32
Abaaya 20
Alifolo 1940 27
M... 1945 28
Bokéli 1926 30
Nanga 1936 31
V... 1950 32
Pélui 1903 33
Alasani 1906 34
Kwaku 1884
Agopu 41
Sanauman 43
1 child
Dopi 1930
without desc.
Alkaso 12

End Chart - G2

*601
*613
*614
*162

6:Hurault--574 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

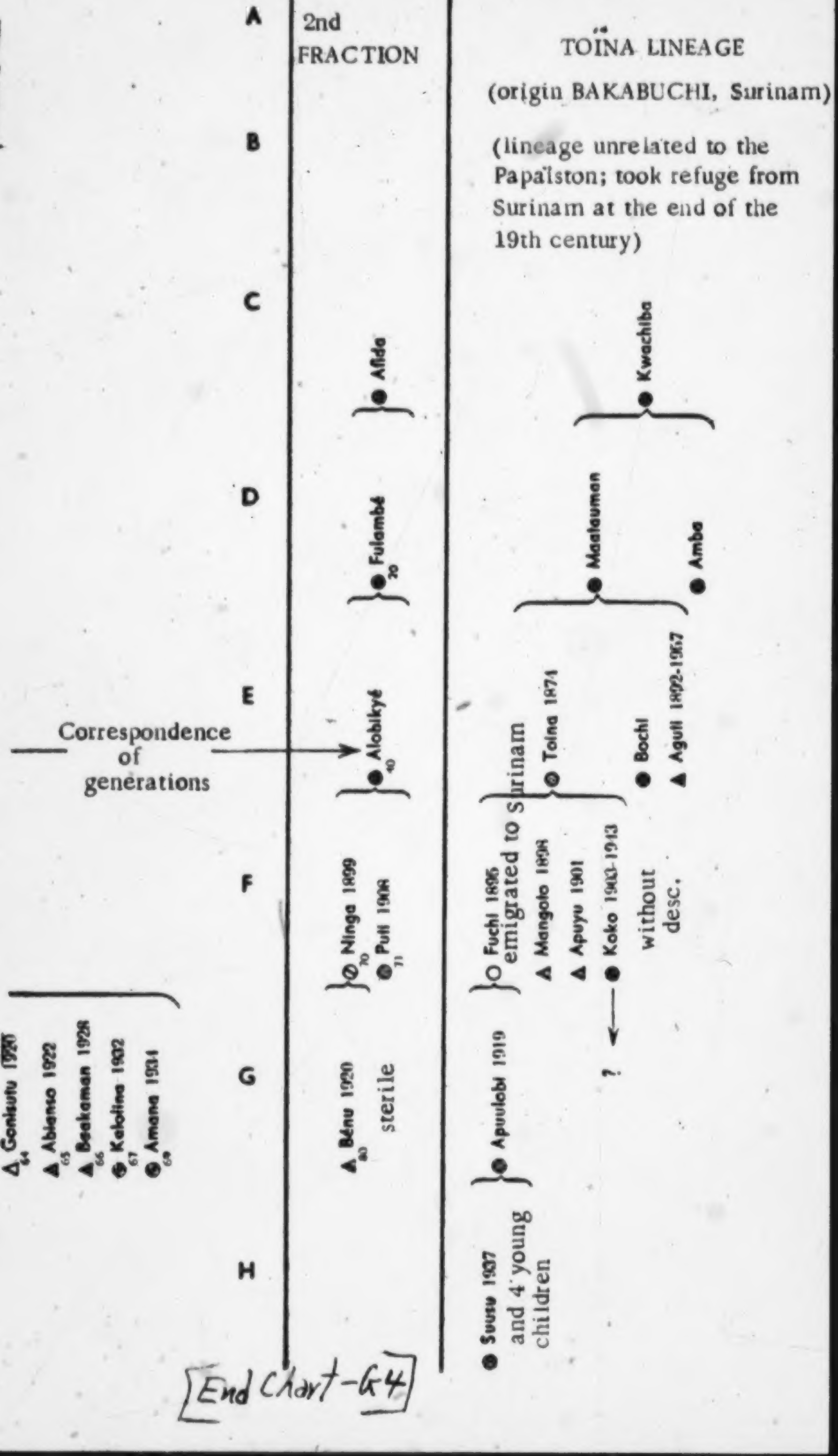
1st FRACTION


Sanga 4
Béfili 12
Aikaso 12
Alangya 15
Ayaka † about 1935 24
Kazal 30
Donasi 1865-1957 35
Correspondence of generations
Alasani 1906 34
Kwaku 1884 40
Agopu 41
Sanauman 43
Apikutu 1910 45
Alipay 1924 47
Ondi 1928 49
Matoochi 60
Wétili 1885 61
Nanga 1936 31
V... 1950 32
Dopi 1930 40
Maïna 1933 41
Benki 1936 42
Bulu 1940 43
1 child
2 children
1 child
and 2 young children
3 children
4 children
Maman 1910 60
Bénanu 1912 61
Pongo 63
Gonisutu 1920 64
Abianso 1922 65
Baakaman 1928 66
Kalolina 1932 67
Apoyau 60
Aduudu 1932 61
Atukuman 63
Afanti 65

[End Chart - G-3]

6:Hurault--575 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

*601
*613
*614
*162


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
2nd FRACTION
Afida
Fulambé 20
Alobikyé 40
Ninga 1899 70
Puli 1908 71
Bénu 1920 80
sterile
Gonisutu 1920 64
Abianso 1922 65
Beakaman 1928 66
Kalolina 1932 67
Amana 1934 69
Correspondence of generations
Kwachiba
Maatauman
Amba
Toina 1874
Bochi
Aguli 1892-1967
Fuchi 1895
emigrated to Surinam
Mangolo 1898
Apuyu 1901
Koko 1903-1943
without desc.
?
Apuulobi 1919
Suusu 1937
and 4 young children

TOÏNA LINEAGE

(origin BAKABUCHI, Surinam)

(lineage unrelated to the Papaïston; took refuge from Surinam at the end of the 19th century)

[End Chart-G4]

102

103

131

133

162

311

316

361

423

613

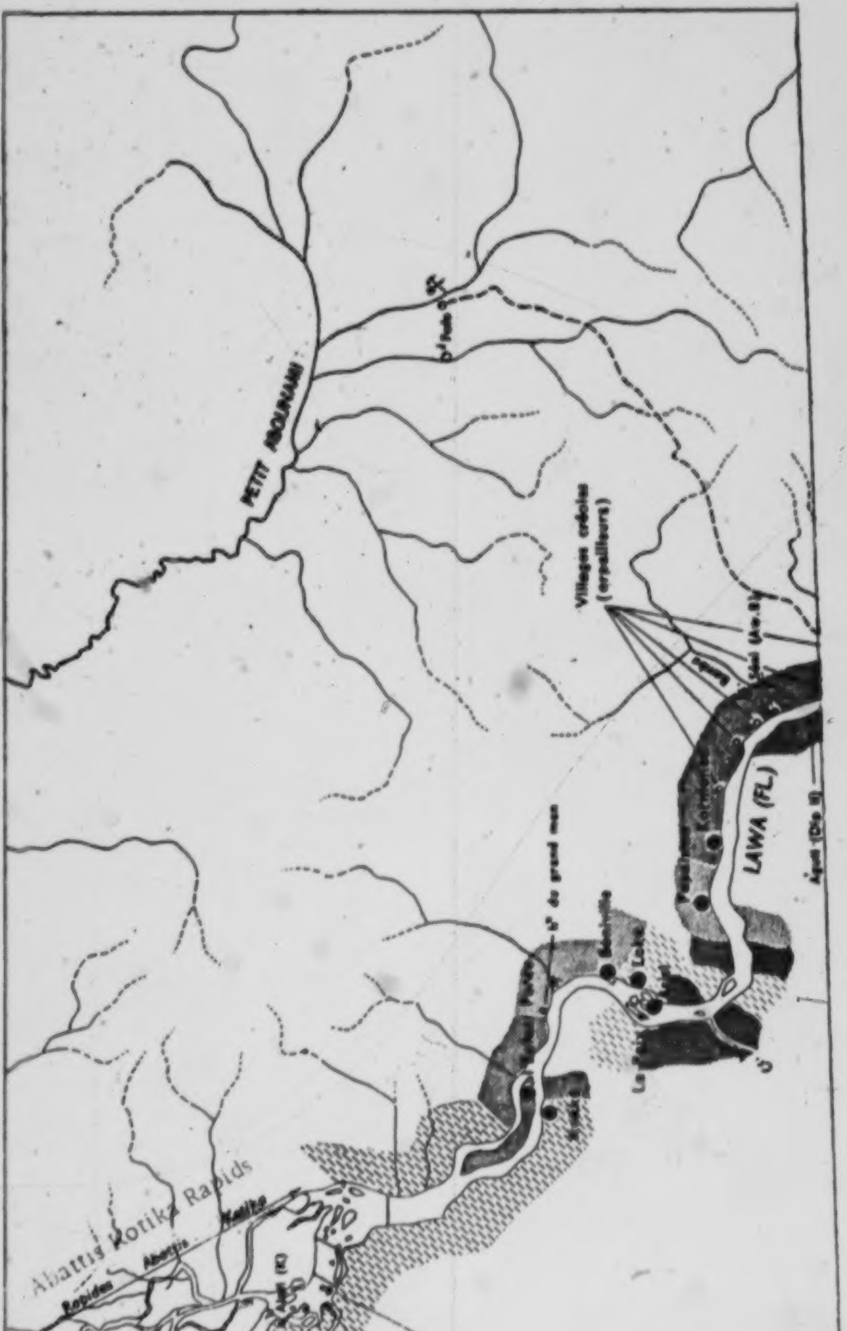
614

621

A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

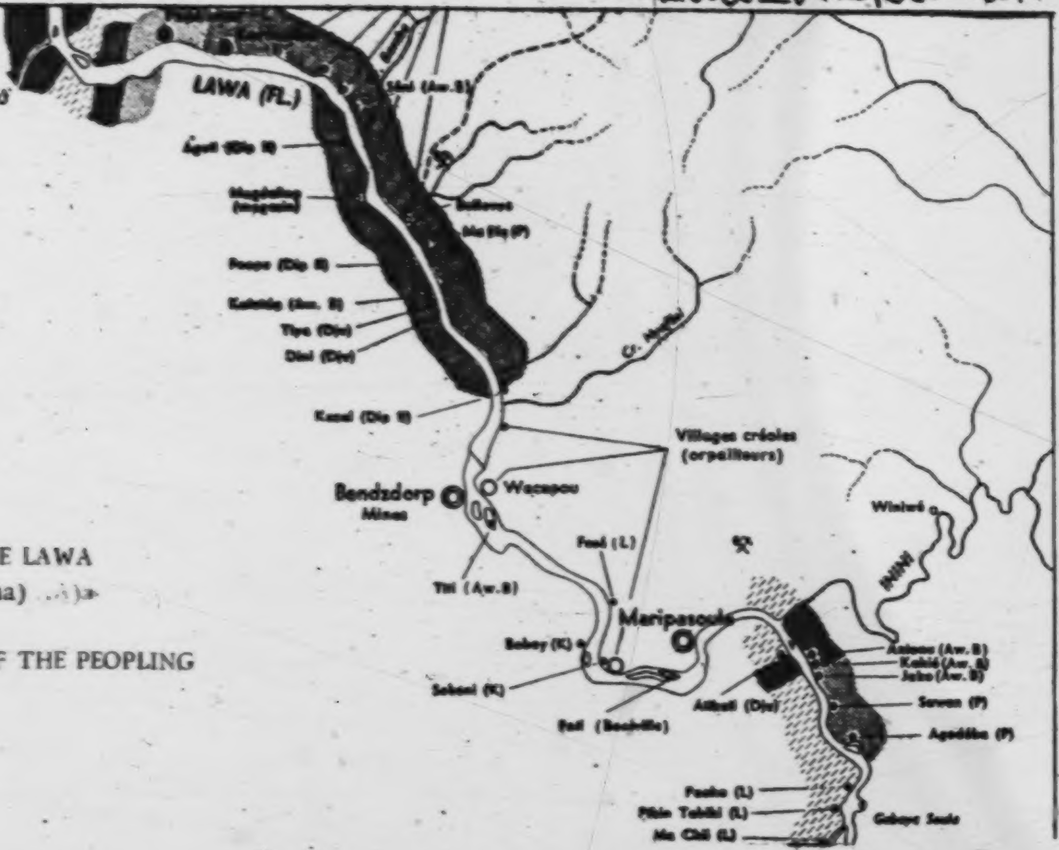
Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621


PETIT ABOUNAMI
Villages créoles (orpailleurs)
LAWA (FL.)
b° du grand man
Boniville
Loka
La Paix
Papaïchton
Kormontibo
Agoti (Dia II)
Abattis Kotika Rapids
Rapides
Abattis
Kotika
Ede (K)
Moomo (K)
Yofé (K)

[End Map-A]

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621


LAWA (FL.)
Agoti (Dju B)
Magdalina (ingganin)
Poope (Dju B)
Kotimia (Aw. B)
Tiya (Dju)
Dini (Dju)
Kazal (Dju B)
Bellevue
Ma Eliq (P)
Villages créoles (orpailleurs)
Bendzdorp
Mines
Wacapou
Fosé (L)
Tini (Aw.B)
Maripasoula
Bobey (K)
Sobani (K)
Pali (Bechville)
Wintwé
INNI
Anieau (Aw. B)
Kohié (Aw. B)
Jako (Aw. B)
Atibali (Dju)
Sewan (P)
Agodébo (P)
Pasho (L)
Pikin Tabiki (L)
Ma Chli (L)
Gobaye Soula

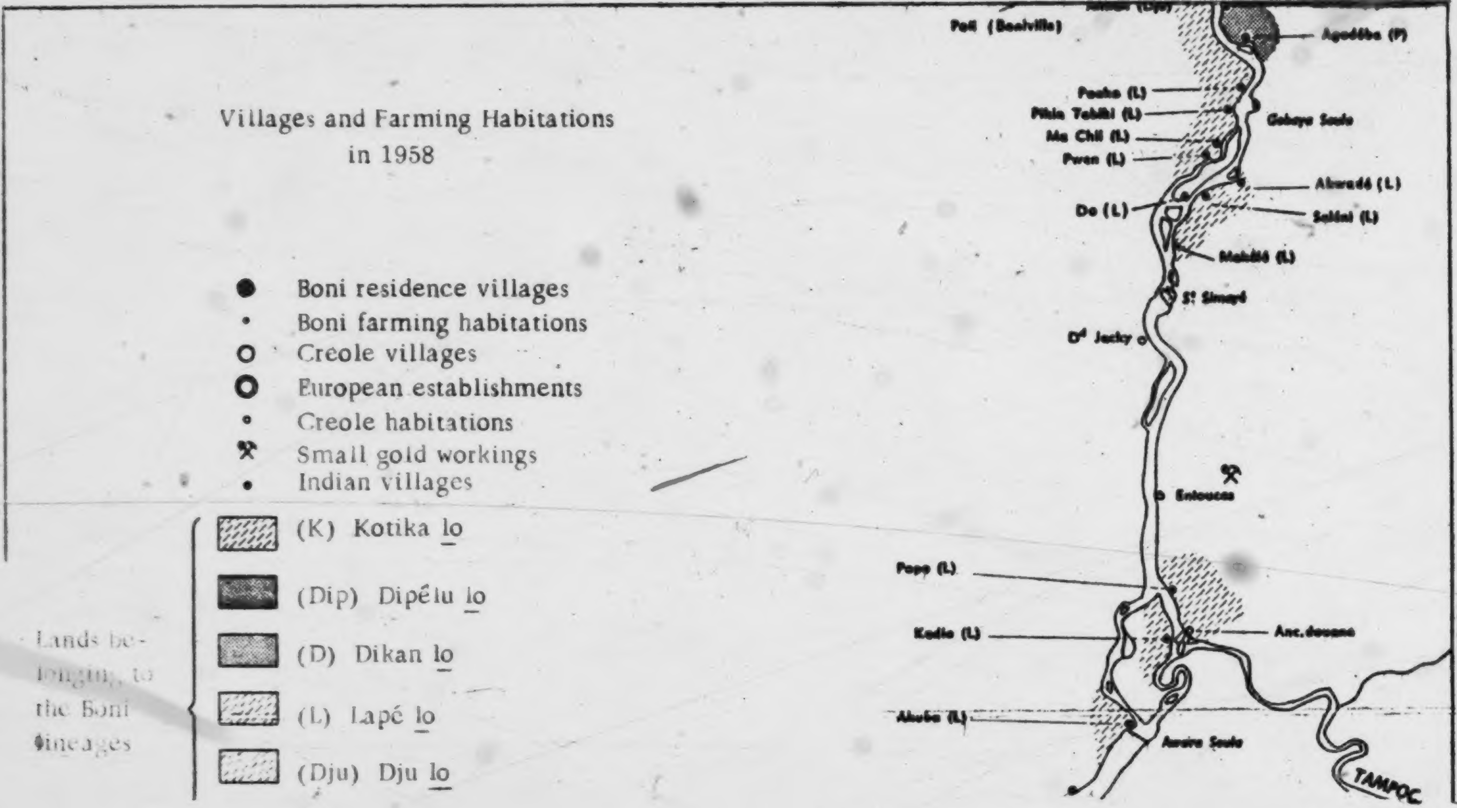
COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

[End Map - B]

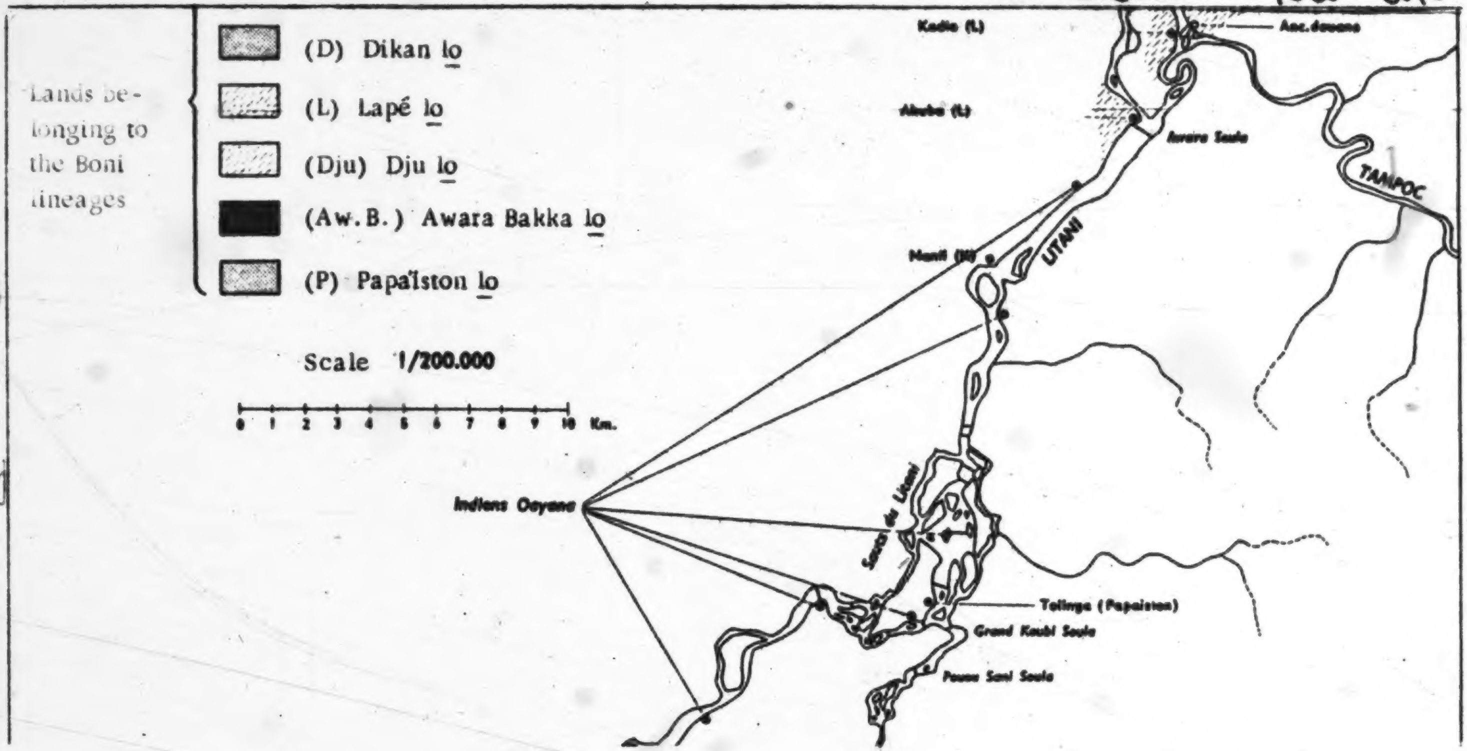
102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621

Villages and Farming Habitations in 1958


Boni residence villages
Boni farming habitations
Creole villages
European establishments
Creole habitations
Small gold workings
Indian villages
(K) Kotika lo
(Dip) Dipélu lo
(D) Dikan lo
(L) Lapé lo
(Dju) Dju lo
Lands belonging to the Boni lineages
Poli (Boniville)
Agodébo (P)
Pacha (L)
Pikin Tabiki (L)
Ma Chil (L)
Pwen (L)
Gobaye Soula
Akwadé (L)
Soléni (L)
Do (L)
Mabilé (L)
St Simayé
Dr Jacky
Entoucas
Papa (L)
Kadio (L)
Anc. douane
Akuba (L)
Awaira Soula
TAMPOC

[End Map - 2]

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621


Lands belonging to the Boni lineages
(D) Dikan lo
(L) Lapé lo
(Dju) Dju lo
(Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo
(P) Papaïston lo
Scale 1/200.000
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km.
Kadie (L)
Anc.douane
Akuba (L)
Awara Soula
TAMPOC
LITANI
Manil (M)
Indiens Oayana
Sauts du Litani
Tolinga (Papaïston)
Grand Kaubi Soula
Pousa Sani Soula

End Map - D

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102

103

133

241

311

361

423

487

504

613

614

A (p. 580)	B (p. 581)	C (p. 582)	D (p. 583)

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

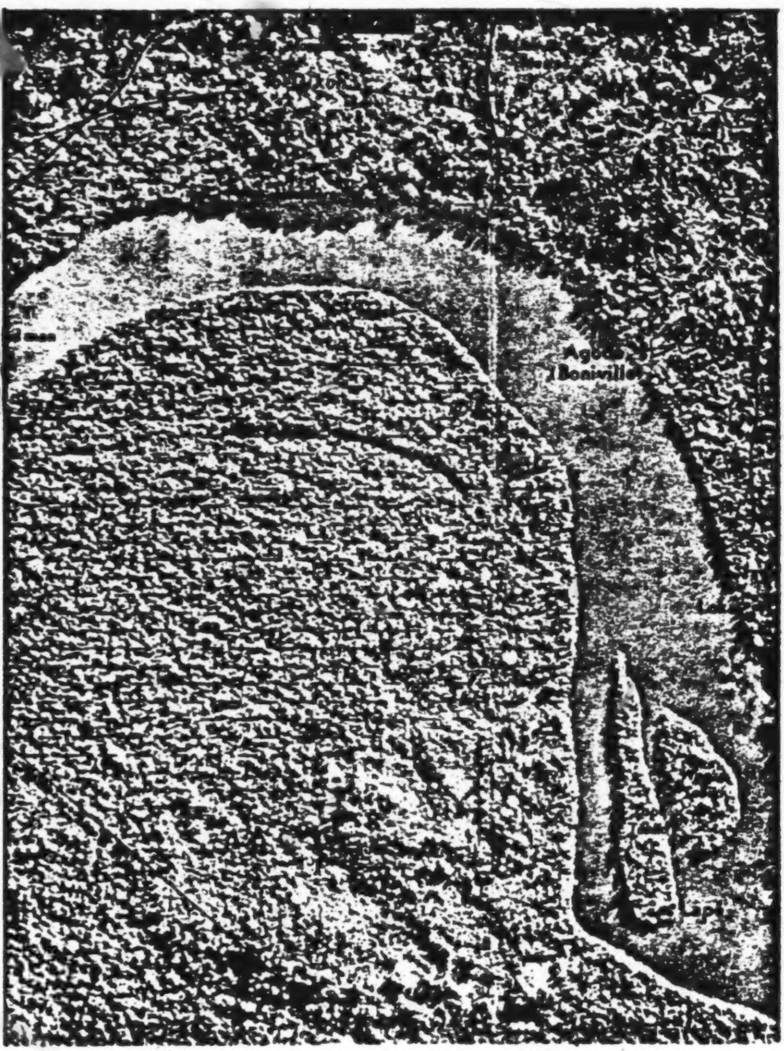
102
103
133
241
311
361
423
489
613
614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate -A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

10[illegible]
10[illegible]
133
241
311
361
423
487
613
614
764
504


Agoda
(Boniville)

Scale 1/20 000

0m 200m 400m 600m 800m 1km

[End Plate – B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Loka
Lapé
500m
1km

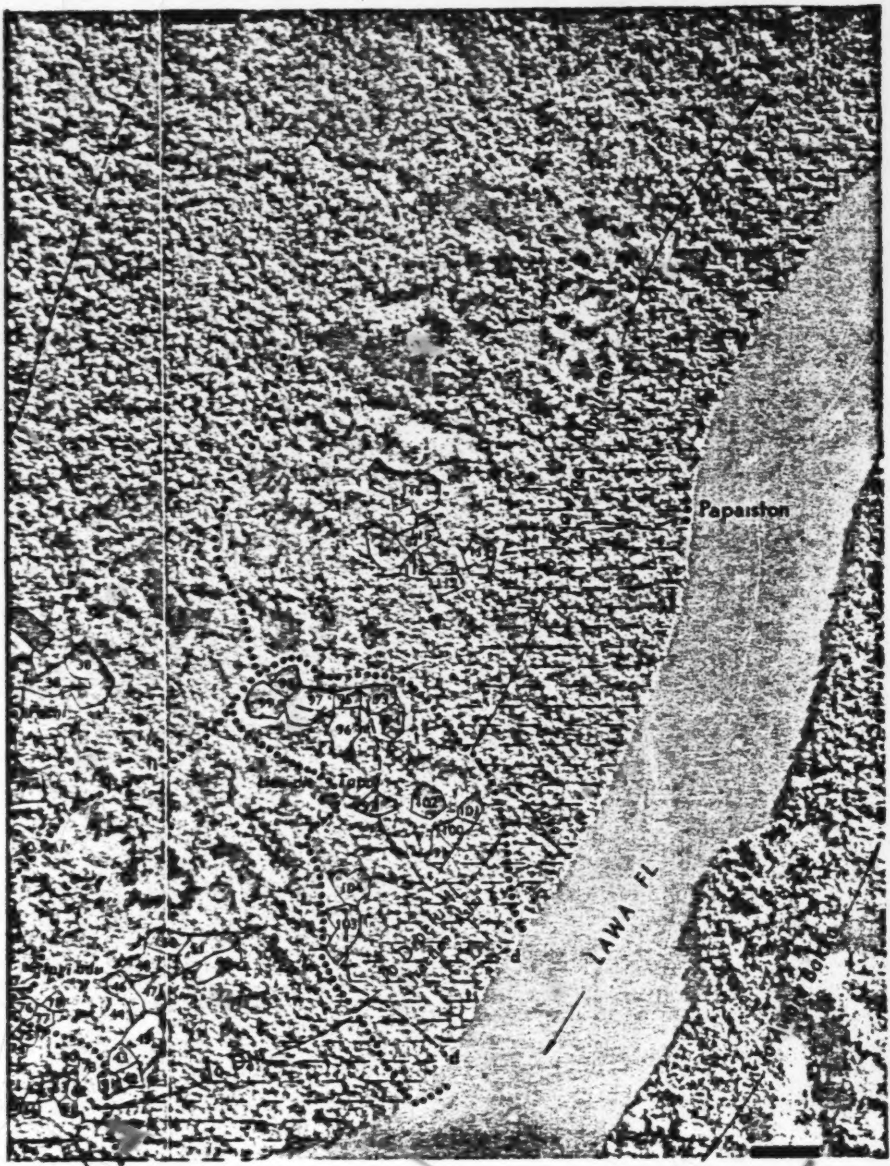
Scale 1/20000

[End Plate-C]

6:Hurault--583 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614



⁖ Agodé Permanent villages

◇ —— clearings

-=- —— floodable zones

•·?••• —— boundaries not known

• h farming habitation

• d dégrad (wharf)

--- path

•••••••• approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]

163
165
429
551
582
586
591
593
595
613
614

[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

162

621

[For further information concerning the socio-demographic composition of each of the Boni villages, see category 116, pp. 478-539.]

695 [For information concerning a pseudo-trial procedure involving the interrogation of a recently deceased person for purposes of judging him, see category 116, pp. 243-245.]

[Generalized data on the Amerindians of French Guiana, which do not fit under any of the more specific OWC headings, will be marked for this File.]

[For additional information on the judicial functions of the *lānti* *kuutu* (the assembly of men), see also categories 692 and 693.]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

695 [For information concerning a pseudo-trial procedure involving the interrogation of a recently deceased person for purposes of judging him, see category 116, pp. 243-245.]

6: Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

539

[For translated texts of folktales, plus several riddles and proverbs, see category 116, pp. 423-457.]

163
165
167
621

[For additional data on the number of children per woman, mortality, Boni emigrants, and the village of residence of lineage/sib members, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

162
601
613
614

[For further information concerning the lineage/sib organization and membership of the Boni, with associated data on age, sex, and ethnic affiliations, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]